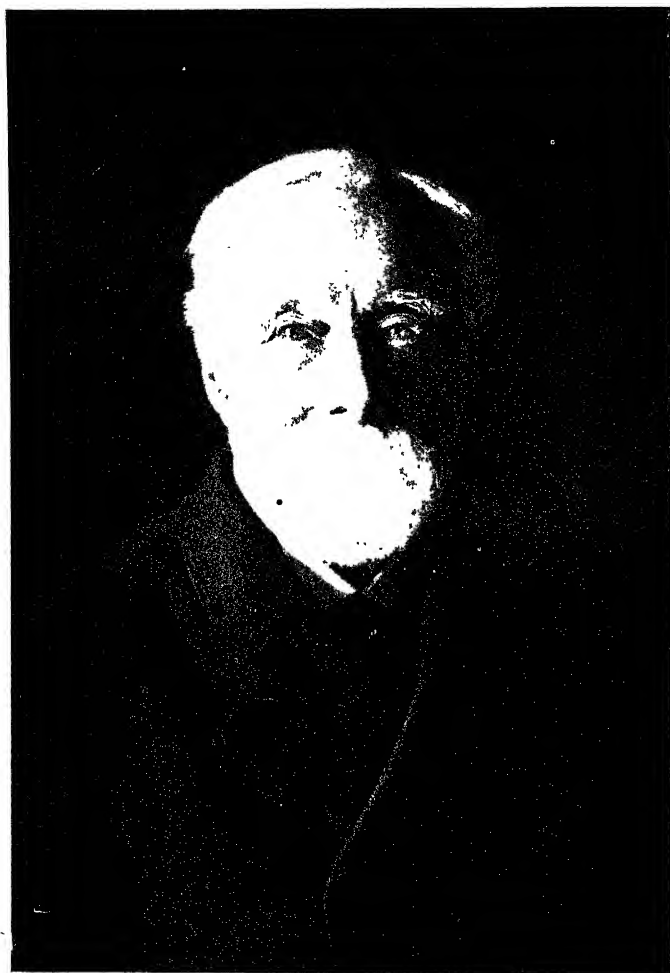


ABOUT OTHERS AND MYSELF



Warschawski, St. Leonards-on-Sea.

A. E. H. Anson

aged 93.

[*Frontispiece.*

ABOUT OTHERS AND MYSELF

1745 to 1920

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD
EDWARD HARBORD ANSON, K.C.M.G.

LATE ROYAL ARTILLERY

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

It is not without diffidence that I let this account of myself go forth in public; and do so only because I have been so frequently asked by friends and acquaintances, to whom I have, from time to time, related incidents contained in it, why I do not do so; and from this cause I assume that there must be some things of interest among them. .

Passing incidents, to which, at the time, little consideration is given, in future years often become of value, as indicating the manners, customs, and thoughts of past generations.

It is true a great part of the incidents of our lives is made up of trifles, but, on occasions, some of these incidents are amusing, and it is sometimes interesting to compare those of the lives of others with those which occur to oneself.

I wish specially to thank Mr G. E. Marindin, brother of the late Sir Francis Marindin, my friend of Mauritius days, and Lieut-Col John Murray for their advice and assistance in preparing this book for publication.

A. E. H. A.

May, 1920.

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ABOUT OTHERS AND MYSELF

CHAPTER I

WHEN MY GRANDPARENTS WERE YOUNG

(1756-1786)

I COMMENCE with an account of my maternal grandmother. She was Mary, the daughter of Charles Hamilton, the son of Lord Archibald Hamilton, of Riccartoun and Pardovan, Co. Linlithgow, and of Castle Confoy in Kildare. Lord Archibald, an Admiral, Governor of Greenwich Hospital, and Governor of Jamaica from 1710 to 1716, was the seventh son of William 3rd Duke of Hamilton, and married Jane Hamilton, daughter of James 6th Earl of Abercorn. Their son Charles married Catherine, daughter of Colonel Dufresne, and in 1786 my grandfather married their only child, the Mary Hamilton he had met, when at school at Northampton, at the house of a cousin of his mother. Mary Hamilton was born the 5th February, 1756.

Charles Hamilton served in three campaigns in the service of Russia, under General James Keith, General-in-Chief and Lieut.-Colonel of the Foot Guards of Her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias. The first, in 1740, as lieutenant in the Regiment of Kiove, and the other two in 1741 and 1742, as aide-de-camp to General Keith, with the rank of captain. General Keith certifies that during those campaigns he assisted him in that capacity with all the bravery and intelligence necessary on all occasions against the Swedes.

He also received the following certificates (in French), from the Field-Marshal in the Russian Army.

“Mr Charles Hamilton served in the Army of Her Imperial Majesty two Campaigns as Captain and Adjutant to the General-in-Chief Keith, and always conducted himself

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both before the enemy and elsewhere as a brave and honest officer in witness of which it is right to sign the present at Burgs the 8th Sept., 1742.

Signed, P. COMTE DE SAY,
Field Marshal in the Russian Army."

There is a letter from General Keith, dated the 26th Dec., 1742, to "My dear Hamilton," stating that he makes no doubt that he will continue the same conduct where he is as when he was with him. He will see it is easy to gain the esteem and love of those he serves with or under. In continuation, he says :

"I send you enclosed five letters, one from the Prince with the journal, and I count you got the plans relating to it from Mr La Font, for Lord and Lady Archibald Hamilton for Lord Stair and General Campbell, and wish I could have been of more service to one I sincerely love. . . .

I shall not fail of writing to you if it was only to remember you of me and to assure you that it's impossible to more affectionately, my dear Hamilton,

Your most obedient humble Servant,
JAMES KEITH."

There is a Commission signed by King George II, appointing Charles Hamilton a Captain in the Marquis of Granby's Regiment of Foot, dated the 4th Oct., 1746.

There is also a Certificate creating Honble Charles Hamilton, Esq., a Burgess of the Borough of Paisley, by the Magistrates and Council, on account of good deeds he had done and to be done for the utility of the borough.

Signed by Thos. Simpson, Clerk.

On the 21st April, 1777, Miss Hamilton was appointed head of the three ladies employed in the (as she described it) "important task of assisting in the government of the Royal Children," and she remained at the Court of George III and Queen Charlotte until June, 1784.

Miss Hamilton, being in charge of his sisters, saw a good deal of the Prince of Wales, and took a sort of motherly interest in him ; and, for a time, exercised a good influence over him. Some correspondence which passed between them in the year 1779, in connection with the events of that time, is of interest. In one of his letters the Prince says :

"I know, from your sympathizing disposition, and from your friendship, you will be happy to hear that William [afterwards William IV] is in perfect health, and goes on in a manner fully sufficient to answer our most sanguine desires. His Admiral, Admiral Digby I mean, gives the following account of him. I saw ye letter he wrote to ye King about William. He says that he thinks William will make a very great sea officer. That his talents are surprising; that the moment he saw they were preparing for action, his spirits rose to that degree that he was almost in a state of insanity, and that the moment ye fleets were separated, his spirits sunk very low, and they did not reassume their usual ebb for some time after. We are now every moment to expect an invasion [7th Sept. 1779]. The moment our enemies come, the King and my brothers, as well as myself, go immediately."

On the 13th Sept., the Prince writes,

"I am resolved I will now begin to draw ye picture and character which I have so long promised you. I will do it with all the *sincerity, impartiality, and truth* that is in my power. Yr friend is now approaching the bloom of youth. He is rather above the common size; his limbs well proportioned, and, upon the whole, well made, with rather too great a penchant to grow fat. Ye features of his countenance strong and manly, tho they carry with them too much of an air of hauteur. His forehead well shaped, his eyes, tho' none of the best, are yet passable. Tolerably good eyebrows and eyelashes, un petit nez retroussé, ce pendant assez animé. A good mouth, tho' rather too large. Fine teeth, tolerably good chin, but the whole of the countenance is too round. I forgot to add, very ugly ears. Hair is generally looked upon as a beauty; he has hair more than usually falls to every one's share, but from the present mode of dressing it, from ye immense thickness necessarily required for ye toupées, and ye length and number of ye curls it makes, it appears greatly less thick than in reality it is. Such are the gifts which Nature has bestowed upon him, and which ye world says she has bestowed upon him with a very generous hand. I now come to ye qualities of his mind, and of his heart. His sentiments and thoughts are open and generous, above doing anything that is mean. Too susceptible, even to a weakness of believing people his friends, and placing too much confidence in ym, from not, as yet, having obtained a sufficient knowledge of ye world, or of its practices. Grateful and friendly to an excess, where he finds a *real friend*. His heart is good and tender, if it is

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allowed to show its emotions. (I should not mention what I have marked with lines among my virtues, but among my weaknesses.) He has a *strict notion of honor*. Rather too familiar to his inferiors, but will not suffer himself to be brow-beaten, or treated with haughtiness by his superiors.

Now for his vices, or rather, let us call them weaknesses. Too subject to give loose, or vent, to his passions of every kind. Too subject to be in a passion, but he never bears malice or rancour in his heart. As for swearing, he has very near cured himself of that vile custom. He is rather too fond of wine and women, to both of which, young men are apt to deliver themselves too much; but which he endeavours to check to ye utmost of his power. But, upon the whole, his character is open, free, and generous; susceptible of good impressions: ready to follow good advice. . . . I am not content with this character. I have not finished it; I will finish it in my next. I have been too favourable, I find, for my manifold faults."

On 3rd Nov., the Prince wrote:

"My mother has been remarkably kind to me during the whole of our séjour. Ye night before last, ye whole party went to drink tea at ye R——T——r, where Ld and Ly C——n and their four sons were. My brother Edward had formed a particular intimacy with ye two middle ones [of the sons]. You must excuse me mentioning these particulars, as you will find them of consequence in some parts of my account. My brother Edward had behaved very improperly during the whole of his stay, and I had winked at several parts of his conduct, upon his promise of amelioration. I even went so far as to buy, out of my own pocket, something which he would have been scolded for having, had not it been known to have been given to him. Accordingly, as he wished to have it, I bought it, and gave it to him. Such was my kindness to him, yt he not only told me, but every one else, not only this story, but ye last he made when disgraced, yt I was ye most good-natured person he ever had known. But to return to my subject. Ye next evening to our visit, being laſt night and his birthday, Ld and Ly C——n, and their sons were invited, among other company. They were sufficient at both tables, at cards, without me, so yt there remained, at each end of the musick room, myself and L——a and Maule; at the other one my brother Edward and ye other boys. Ye cowardice of Edward is inconceivable, for knowing yt those boys wld not strike him again, or punish him, he treated ym with the greatest insolence, not only striking ym and pinching ym, but

spitting in their faces, and calling ym all manner of names. I beheld all this, myself, from the farther end of the room, where I was conversing with the aforesaid persons. Not long after, I went out of the room, into ye room where ye second pool was going on, and I do not suppose I stayed three minutes, when I, upon my return, missing Lt-Col L——, I asked Ma, 'What has become of him,' upon which she shewed him to me, talking to the boys, and Edward standing in ye door way to ye room where my Father and Mother were playing. He soon came up to me, and said, he hoped I wld countenance him in what he had been saying to those boys, wh was, yt he hoped they wld retaliate, and prevent themselves being insulted in so gross a manner. I immediately walked up to ym and told them they had my full consent to do what Lt-Col L. advised them to do. I then walked directly into ye room, in which my Father and Mother were playing at cards, in which I found Edward standing between their chairs; and I went up to him, meaning to desire him, in a whisper to come out of the room, to ask those young gentlemen's pardon, but he, instead of listening to me, like a true designing, mean, sneaking coward, cried out in a loud voice, in order yt ye whole party might side with him, 'I never shall mind what you say to me,' naming me, 'for you are always drawing me into some scrape or other.' My Father then immediately turned round, and asked me the cause of this speech of Edward's, upon which I, in a whisper, told him he had behaved very improperly; and there it rested until ye pool was over, when my Father told my Mother just what I had told him. She shrugged up her shoulders. As soon as my Father's back was turned, she called me up to her, and asked me, with the greatest anger painted in all her features, how I came to mention anything of such sort to my Father; yt it was no business of mine, yt she was sure, whatever Edward had done was slight, yt it was nothing to her, yt whatever scrape he came into, my brother Frederick and I always led him into. Upon which I asked her whether I had been ye cause of his doing what he was disgraced for. Upon wh she said, yt I was not the immediate cause of it; but yt I had led him into it; yt I always wanted to govern the little ones; yt I had not sense enough for it; and, in short, she ran on in this cruel manner for a vast while. However, but I have forgot to say, she then said, was anybody to go tell my Father what my brother and I had done, and what we now did, she was sure he wd be as much offended with us, as he was with Edward. In short, yt she wld tell him everything she shd hear yt I did from yt moment. I flattered myself she would be in a better humour this morning, but, finding her

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still very angry this morning, and very cool towards me this evening, I wish to receive from you your advice how to regulate my conduct towards her, during this crisis of affairs, as I cannot help saying I am deeply affected by ym . . . you shall have a scrupulous account of my conduct in my next, during ye whole of my sojourn at Windsor. I hope you will not find great reason to disapprove of it."

On the 7th Nov. the Prince wrote :

"I saw my Mother again last night, she behaved rather kinder to me than she did the preceding, but not as yet with her usual engaging manners. However, I think my conduct towards her shd always be yt of an affectionate and dutiful child, for I do not think it is becoming a child, to a certain degree, to judge of ye behaviour of a parent."

The following extract is taken from the Prince's letter of the 5th Dec. :

"I was delighted with the play last night, and was extremely moved by two scenes in it: especially as I was particularly interested in ye appearance of the most beautiful woman yt ever I beheld, who acted with such delicacy, yt she drew tears from my eyes. She perceived how much my attention was taken up with her, not only during her acting, but when she was behind ye scenes, and contrived every little innocent art to captivate a heart too susceptible of receiving every impression she attempted to give it; and alas! my friend, she did but too well succeed. Consider, and allow for ye strong and lively passion of a young man, glowing with ye utmost warmth of desire, and yet feeling himself incapable of gratifying his darling. Her name is Robinson, on or off the stage, for I have seen her both. She is, I believe, almost ye greatest and most perfect beauty of her sex. Yr friendship requiring of me, from your own ingenuousness, and from my voluntary promise, every thing relative to me, therefore you shall hear every thing relating to this affair: this passion has laid dormant in my bosom for some time, but, last night has kindled it again to such a degree, for what can be more moving, interesting, or amiable, than exquisite beauty in distress. Gt Heaven knows when it will be extinguished. Pardon me, pity me. My heart is already something easier by having imparted to you, what I have not another friend, I can strictly call so, to whom I cld, with implicit confidence, impart it. But to you I can, in whose honor I put such credit, because I know every secret of mine

lays as secure in yr bosom, as in the silent grave. However, pardon me, if I desire you to be particularly cautious about this, for were it ever to reach my parents' ears, I am fearful, tho' so dear to me, they never wd pardon me."

In a letter, on the 7th, he says :

"I am in tolerably good health, tho' over head and ears in love, so much so, yt I do not know to what length it will carry me."

Writing again on the 8th Dec., he says :

"I thank you for your kind letter of Friday. My friend does not seem to apprehend yt ye passion I have formed is for an actress, so yt I scarcely dare flatter myself, she feels ye same love for me, yt I do for her, I am convinced that she understood the language of my eyes and of my actions, from her manner, and ye tender and bewitching glances she gave me. Her eyes said more than words can express. Oh Heaven, was you but to see her, even if the most envious of her sex was to see her, they must confess yt she is almost ye most perfect beauty yt ever was seen. However, no more of these enthusiastic expressions, or else you will take me to be mad. I know her to be very galant, and yet I cannot help admiring her. However, in a day or two, I will inform you what opinion she has conceived of my person, and how she is content with it, for I have an excellent person to employ, who is well acquainted with her, who will inform me of those particulars, and you may depend on my informing you immediately. Ye reports yt have been spread about my shoes are false, for I never wear a shoe yt is not the real shape of my foot. . . . I am now going to advance a maxim wh you will I am afraid call detestable. Wh is yt I shd be very sorry to form a connection with a wife, or daughter, or a sister, in a family where ye family lives in perfect unity together, but if ye first advances are made to me, I look upon it as highly unbecoming any young man to refuse ym. In ye case of Mrs Robinson, who lives totally separate from her husband, I look upon a connection in such a condition with her and myself, unknown, as impossible to lead to any mischief, as there is no family peace disturbed by it. Be not too much offended at this declaration. Consider I am blinded by my passion, yt I know not what I say or do, or to what lengths it may not carry me. Did you but know the real history of ye unhappy object of it, you would weep with tenderness over her fate. I will relate it to you ye first time we meet."

In his letter of the 14th Dec., he says :

"I am more than ever in love, and ye dear object of my passion corresponds with my flame, so that our love is mutual. She was attacked ye other night in ye theatre for addressing every tender speech, she ought to have addressed to Prince Florizel, to me. You may see of what texture they were by reading Shakespeare. I also have had intelligence from a gentleman who was at ye play, at Covent Garden, when we were there last week, and who is acquainted with Sir John Slade, by whom he sat at the theatre, who has had intimate connection with *mon aimable chère séductrice*, that he remarked to this person, how tired I appeared of ye piece, with an arch remark, that I should not have been so tired, had I been at Drury Lane Theatre, and then said, 'I have heard a great deal of ye Prince's attachment for Mrs R. and I can assure you yt she is as much pleased with him as he with her.' Upon which this person, yt related this to me, said to Sir J., 'Take care, Sir J., yt you are not undermined by this *galant* young rival,' upon wh he answered, with an oath, 'By G—d, I shall be very glad of it for both their sakes, as they seem so attached to each other.' I should not have troubled you with this conversation, my friend, and I do not think entering into such matters is a fit or proper topic for you. However I did it in order to fulfil my old promise, and to demonstrate to you ye transport I feel at this relation. I am metamorphosed into ye gay Lothario, into as happy a creature as I was almost desponding, with love, passion, and ye most ardent flame, boiling altogether in my bosom yesterday. So indeed they do now, but transports are of the happy instead of the unhappy. God bless you, adieu, I am yr ever affectionate friend."

In reply to the Prince's letter of the 5th Dec., Miss Hamilton wrote to him on the 7th Dec., and said :

"MY FRIEND,

I sat down immediately to acknowledge yours. The subject, I own, embarrasses me, but I will endeavour wth ye utmost candour to give my sentiments. You have not at all surprised me by ye declaration. You have pleased me by your confidence. You have hurt me by your caution. You have in some measure afflicted me by proving your character will turn out what I apprehended. Now wth respect to the present object of your passion and fancy. I know not what to say. Let me, however, take ye liberty of pointing out that a female in yt line has too much trick and art not to be a very dangerous object. I do not reprove you for having fix^d your affections,

for you tell me '*beauty* is amiable as well as interesting.' How was it possible then for my young friend to steel his heart against ye united forces of *beauty* and *innocence* when under (even the mock) appearance of distress, and likewise when yt *beauty* and *innocence* cld, for his sake, and to attract *his* regard, condescend to use ye common little arts of her *sex* and *profession*, to captivate and fix a heart so much worth her while to conquer? You desire me to '*comfort*' you, what need can you possibly have for *comfort*? I do not mean to make *you vain* or presumptuous, but I think you may indulge ye pleasing certainty that ye lady returns your love. You desire me to '*pardon*' you for what? Have you been to blame, is not your fault an involuntary one? You desire me to '*pity*' you, can I refuse pity to a person in your *unhappy situation*? that wd be cruel indeed. You say 'Heaven knows when this passion will be extinguished.' Tho' I think *Heaven* has nothing to do in ye affair, yet I cannot imagine why my friend shd be at all solicitous to extinguish a flame so *pure, refined, and honourable*. I shd advise you ever to be upon yr guard, and not plunge yourself into misfortunes heedlessly. There is no *irony* in *this*. Adieu, let *me* have your confidence. I am and *ever will be* your friend, and as long as you chuse to allow it. Adieu, Adieu, I own my curiosity is raised to know why you find less time for writing in 'G' than in ye 'C.' Are not your occupations the same? Do not suppose I mean to lay a tax upon yo. No, I wd have yo be assured my pride wd prevent me *soliciting* for any act of friendship."

She writes again on the 7th Dec.:

"I would not have you my dear friend become callous to the opinion of the world. The P.S. of your note has, upon a reperusal, hurt me extremely. You say, my Friend, you '*despise all foolish reports, as beneath you.*' Oh consider what you owe yourself, consider likewise heaven has amply endowed you with talents, and every requisite to become the ornament, ye example, the glory of a nation. I again tell you my friendship and affection for you is great, and sincere, and does not this deserve some little return, and surely, my friend wd not hesitate to grant it, when he *must be convinced* I have no interested motive. Do not then, do not for my sake, if not for *your own*, lay yourself open to ye world in a character to which you would blush to sign your name. If I have said too much, impute it to that friendship I feel, and which I have honestly dared to avow to you.

Do not answer this till you have time to do it fully.

10 WHEN MY GRANDPARENTS WERE YOUNG

Heaven guard, preserve and direct you prays your sincere and tenderest friend. Adieu."

On the 14th Dec., she wrote:

"Tuesday morning, $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. As I plainly perceive my friend yt it is a very great inconvenience to you to continue a correspondence with me, and as your politeness will perhaps induce you to give yourself the trouble of keeping it up, permit me to tell you I free you from the constraint. Adieu; that you may be happy is the first wish of my heart, and if ye knowledge of ye steadiness of my friendship will afford you any satisfaction, know yt I shall ever be the same, nor shall I ever deviate from my professions, for they were made wth *sincerity*. Adieu, Adieu, from a *real friend*."

This correspondence seems to have come to an end with the following letter, written by Miss Hamilton, dated the 17th Dec., but sent on the 30th, to be delivered on the 31st.

"For the love of heaven stop, O stop, my friend, and do not thus plunge yourself into vice. Yor last note and ye preceding one made every nerve of me thrill with apprehension. I had determined to say nothing further upon ye subject, fearing it wd be in vain, and hoping yor reason wd prove a sufficient guard. But you listen not to ye voice of reason, and alas! will not longer, I fear, to yt of friendship. I conjure ye strive to conquer this unhappy infatuation. Where are fled those sentiments of honor and virtue wh made ye appear in so aimable a light? Who can have been so infamous as to teach you such detestable doctrines? You are preparing wretchedness for yourself. You are drawing others on to share it. If you will not acknowledge this now, there will come time when you will feel it keenly. For you have a mind capable of reflection, and a heart too good ever totally to eradicate yt love and admiration of what is virtuous and amiable. I know yo better than yo do yourself. You will repent, but perhaps then it will be too late. Look around ye world my friend, see whether the votaries of vice are to be envied. Ask if they are happy; you will find ym a set of miserable wretches, and if you could possibly discern what they must at times feel, it would strike you with dread. Ask your heart if you are willing to sacrifice every amiable and good quality, to give up those '*self approving hours*' (yr once favourite quotation)

for remorse and self reproach. For no joys can be permanent yt have not self approbation for their bases. You alledge ye poor undone object of your *present* passion has already trod the paths of vice. Can yt be a reason for your endeavouring to sink her immortal soul still deeper in perdition? The idea makes me tremble. I have yr eternal as well as temporal happiness at heart, and I cannot check its effusions. I know what you will suffer hereafter, and I exert my endeavours to recall *you* to yourself. If they are without effect, I must submit to have my admonitions treated with contempt, and myself laughed at for my presumptuous folly in having an opinion on these matters different from ye gay votaries of fashion; but I shall have a pleasure they cannot taste: yt of acting in the most *disinterested* manner, and speaking with sincerity and truth. They will flatter your follies, they will encourage yr vices. I point out the one, and warn you against ye others. They want to *sink you to a level with themselves*. I want to raise your virtues, for you have virtues. Let ym not lie dormant, but shew yourself superior to ye world. You can. You may. You ought to be so. My heart is torn with anguish on your account. *I am your friend*, and as such must feel. I now bid you Adieu, and take my leave of you, till you are restor'd to *yourself*. Adieu, may all the blessings of Heaven attend you. J'ai prévu votre changement, il m'afflige, mais il ne me surprend pas, pour moi je ne changerai jamais. Daigniez vous souvenir quelque fois de mon amitié et ne craigniez pas que je vous fasse jamais des reproches."

Queen Charlotte, the writer of the following letters to Miss Hamilton, was Princess Charlotte-Sophia, daughter of Charles-Louis, the reigning Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. She was born the 19th May, 1744; married King George the Third, the 8th Sept. 1761; died the 17th Nov. 1818.

"MY DEAR MISS HAMILTON.

This little paper makes no pretensions to a letter it only serves to convey you my sincere good wishes upon your journey, may every happiness attend you—there as well as every where else, and may the Sea air prove beneficial to you and all your *compagnons de voyages* is the very sincere wish of a Person I desire you to look upon as a sincere Friend.

c. CHARLOTTE.

Q. H. [Queen's House],
the 11th June, 1780.

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My Compliments to your amiable visitor, you guess I mean Lady Stormont." [Lady Stormont was Mary Hamilton's 1st cousin.]

"Q. H., 23rd of June, 1780.

MY DEAR MISS HAMILTON.

When a child is naughty, a good parent corrects it, in order to make it the better behaved. Pray, can you tell me what punishment is to be made use of, when the Physician recommends bathing in the Sea and it is not complied with? I am very impatient to have that point determined as I intend practising it upon a certain Miss M. H. who promised Dr Turton to wash herself quite clean, and who since her arrival at Eastbourne pretends to be a little fearful, for I dare not make use of the Word which begins with a C. for fear of shocking your delicacy: that I am the more anxious to avoid, as at best my correspondence can be but little entertaining, when I know that you have so many friends which are such good scribes and can make their letters so much more interesting.

Our head quarters are still in town, and not very likely that the King will leave it soon, it is certainly not so agreeable as the country, yet to a well thinking mind it is always pleasing to fulfil its Duty, and though I have frequently found that the fulfilling that duty is very often connected with difficulty, it is nevertheless attended with a secret inward satisfaction, which none but those that act right can enjoy, and which no Earthly power can deprive us of, and can we want any better approbation than Our own *Conscience*? I think not! It is the sincerest friend we have, I found it so at all times, and shall endeavour to keep it all alive, for fear my indolence should make it slumber, and my fears should prevent me ever waking it again: that I am afraid has been the case with many, and as I pity them sincerely, I will try to avoid getting into the same difficulty.

Lady Warwick is come and lives at her own house in town. She intends leading a very retired life and is ready to receive all her Family. Lady Francis Harpur is however by the "*directions—or orders*" of her Husband to deprive her Mother of this pleasure, which makes both parties very unhappy. Il y a du pour et du contre dans tout ceci; the duty of a Child to a parent is one thing, and the making oneself a party in the indiscretions of a Mother is another, this last cannot happen, and the first should be done, car je ne vois pas que la mauvaise conduite d'une Mère, excuse l'enfant à remplir ses devoirs vis à vis d'Elle. this remains amongst Ourselves, but my dear

Miss Hamilton must feel that I am not quite wrong in what I have said.

Lady King and her daughter were both at Court last Thursday, Your old Friend seems to recover both good looks and strength which I was very glad to see, she bore the heat of the room even better than a great many of the young people present. Lady Dartrey was also at court yesterday, she looks well and talks with great pleasure of being settled at Chelsea. Lady Stormont looked beautiful when I saw her at court, she is backwards and forwards every day in the country and the air seems to agree with her.

Princess Daschkow took leave yesterday, she still intends travelling two years longer in France, Italy, and Germany, as she is so very delicate a Lady I cannot help mentioning what she said to Lady Egremont when talking about the riots, where a natural brother of hers acted a very ungentlemanlike part, at Monsieur Cordons. She said, *je ne serai pas fâché Milady de le voir un peu pendu*. It is so sisterly and feelingly expressed that I am sure you are not sorry to know it it makes one thoroughly acquainted with the Princess's superior character, which appears to me to be above humanity and feeling.

Pray my dear Miss Hamilton let not this Paper be read by any body but Yourself, I know it to be full of faults both in expressions and writing, and if I had time would correct it immediately, but I am not Mistress of that nor of myself, therefore excuse the faults and do not expose my ignorance or rather my inattention.

CHARLOTTE."

" Q. [Queen's] Lodge, Windsor,
16th July, 1780.

MY DEAR MISS HAMILTON,

Experience goes a great way in this World, I find it with regret, that notwithstanding all my *envy* I cannot obtain that agreeable *style* of writing both You and Lady Charlotte Finch are possessed of, I grieve and fret for days about it, but it avails me nothing else but making me dissatisfied with myself, which is the true way of preventing my poor Head to make any real progress in such a desirable talent. I shall therefore renounce all claim to Elegance of *style* and desire You to be contented with a very simple Natural way of writing, well meant at all times but making no pretensions whatever: having prepared You for this I may without the least fear of offending Your feelings upon that subject say anything that occurs to me without being criticised, I mean by that severely, for a little will do me good as I love to improve.

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Pray do not think me too old for that would be mortifying indeed.

Oh how beautiful is the description of Fairford Church, and how just all the remarks upon the founder of it, my inclination would lead me to copy the actions of this Marchant in preference to some of the greatest Men of Our acquaintance whose ideas are of spending money merely for the sake of being great, without considering that true greatness cannot exist unless accompanied by goodness, for every action becomes more or less valuable according to the motive it arises from.

Our amusements at Windsor are much the same they were last Year, the drives not quite so long, on my account, which is indeed the only change that can be observed in Our way of living, for You know we deal not much in variety. *toujours la même*, is an amiable quality. I swear by it, and here I am against variety; but *toujours Perdrix* is somewhat disagreeable, and in this instance I am for some little change, pray should it not be so in our society? We both agree and say Yes? but when it must not be, what is to be done then? why to submit! Well, then, I never refuse good advice, and therefore am determined to come in to everything You can suggest upon that subject, thinking myself a *being* totally void of any wish or desire contrary to the opinions of those I live with, fully determined to promote the cheerfulness and Amusements of those who are dependent on me, as a necessary ingredient towards happiness as far as it can reasonably be obtained in this World, human power will stretch no farther, whatever the Will may be.

Now You would willingly know how the World goes, upon that subject I have but little to say, Our Thursdays Court was thin and not a Person You interest Yourself about present, excepting Miss Gunning who I find lives in the Neighbourhood of Richmond. Sir Robert is not to settle in Northamptonshire this summer.

Lady Warwick is hardly ever mentioned, but there is a report that her arrival is to be followed by that of the Dowager Lady Carlisle, which makes her son very uneasy, there may be various reasons for that, and had not his Lordships little wife been obliged to keep company with some body who shall be *Nameless*, I should have suspected that introducing her was the Great obstacle, but that cannot be the case now.

I am glad to find that bathing does agree so well with You, pray continue it as long as you can, for I do hope it will be of use to Your health.

CHARLOTTE."

The following is a message contained in a letter to Lady

Charlotte Finch, from Her Majesty, dated from Sea Houses, East Bourne, Sussex, July, 1780.

"Tell Miss Hamilton I hope soon to answer her letter, she makes me guilty of breaking a commandment, for I envy her writing so well."

"Q. Lodge, Windsor.
30th August, 1780.

MY DEAR MISS HAMILTON,

What can I have to say? not much indeed! but to wish You good Morning, in the pretty blue and white Room where I had the pleasure to sit and read with You the *Hermit*, a Poem which is such a Favorite with me that I have read it twice this Summer. Oh what a blessing to keep good Company. very likely I should never have been acquainted with either Poet or Poem was it not for You.

The season continues so fine that our Terrace is constantly filled, as I do not partake of that amusement and am but a spectator, *all alone* at times, a droll idea started up in my mind which by any clever Person may be made much of, but with my way of thinking I thought it dangerous to indulge, what do You think it was? well Madam it was comparing the *Terrasse* the *Royal Terrasse* with what? . . . Patience. with a *Market* Oh fie upon the Queen. Now You know this wicked thought of mine. and I promise you to have done with it for ever. and You promise me to keep it to Yourself.

Everybody belonging to You is gone in the country, excepting Mrs. *Veasey* or *Weasey* who is in this neighborhood and come twice to Lady Courtown in order to see the Royal Family upon the *Terrace*. I made her two Courtsies from the Window and was told that my politeness had almost thrown her down, I was sorry to find that I had been doing mischief. Adieu this will be the last scrawl You will receive from me till we meet.

CHARLOTTE."

The following is a copy of what the Queen wrote in a blank leaf of a book she gave Miss Hamilton.

"Haller intended the contents of the Book for his Daughters happiness; I cannot claim the title of a Parent, but as a friend I give this work to Miss Hamilton, as a proof how truly interest myself in Hers.

CHARLOTTE.

Queen's House, London.
20th January, 1781."

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"The Queen thinks Miss Hamilton must not often have met with such discreet a visitor as herself having not allowed her Eyes to wander or to gaze any further than this little bit of paper which she was glad to find as it gave her an opportunity to tell Miss Hamilton how happy she was to hear from her servant that she gained strength every day. A propos, my Hands were not allowed to touch any thing.

Adieu jusqu 'au revoir."

Miss Hamilton makes the following remarks on the above.

"Thursday, March 29th, 1781.

I found the inclosed at my return from the Queen's House Her Majesty had done me the honor of coming to my apartments after ye Drawing-room, and not meeting with me left this writing upon my table."

The following was written and given by the Queen to Miss Hamilton at Queen's Lodge, Windsor, March, 1781.

"L'amitié nous unie
Les bagatelles montrent respect."

This was accompanied by a likeness of the late Lady A. Greville, cut out of a piece of card by the Queen.

The following is a letter from Miss Hamilton to Queen Charlotte.

"25th June, 1781.

MADAM,

Feeling as I do, attach'd to Your Majesty by every sentiment of gratitude and personal affection, I find it very difficult to summons resolution sufficient to acquaint You with what I am but too conscious would be dishonourable to delay longer, nor could I answer to myself, the indulgence of remaining in a situation, merely to have the happiness and honor of approaching You. and which indeed has been my sole motive for some time past. I am Madam, every day more and more sensible that I am by no means equal to the situation I have the honor to be in, on many accounts, but particularly, from the delicacy of my constitution, as it from time, to time, prevents my paying the proper and required attendance on their Royal Highnesses, and, I know my spirits are, from the same cause, inadequate to a constant exertion; I therefore

most humbly intreat Your Majesty will take into consideration to find some other person more worthy and able to supply my place; till that is done, Your Majesty may depend on my continuing to fulfil my duty to the utmost of my abilities. As this determination proceeds from the most disinterested and honorable motive, I rest secure on Your Majesties goodness that You will not disapprove my quitting Your service; and I beg leave to be allowed to add, that I shall ever retain the liveliest gratitude for the many marks of gracious attention, and condescending regard, wch You Madam have so often shewn. Your Majesties

Most Faithful, and most Dutiful Servant,
MARY HAMILTON."

To this letter Queen Charlotte replied as follows :

"Monday morning.

MY DEAR MISS HAMILTON.

The contents of Your letter I am inclined to take as the effect of *low Spirits* and therefore wont indulge You with an entire belief of what You have said, at least let me still indulge that thought for some time, and I beseech You not to be too much dejected about Yourself as You will find that, if possible more pernicious to your health than real illness, but should You, *which I hope not*, continue some time hence of the same opinion I must desire You not to mention it, until I have succeeded in that disagreeable task of providing myself with a Proper Person, assuring You that at all times I shall retain a proper regard for Your Person and Merits.

CHARLOTTE."

Miss Hamilton received the following letter from Miss Plant, at the Court of Queen Charlotte. Dated, Queen's Lodge, Windsor, 24th July, 1781.

"Miss Goldsworthy is much dissatisfied with Princess Royal's conduct, and, I am sorry to say, it is far from amiable. I am on very good terms with her, and have taken the liberty to represent to her that unless she corrects herself in time the Queen will grow indifferent about her; and scarcely a greater misfortune can befall her."

Miss Hamilton wrote to her friend Monsieur D'Agincourt, on the 17th Jan. 1784, from Clarges Street, Piccadilly.

"Yes my good friend, I received your letter from Albano,

and you will I fear give me little credit both for saying how much I was delighted with its contents, and what satisfaction it gave me again to have accounts from one for whom I retain the most lively esteem. I could give a thousand reasons why I have not written to you sooner. I will not stop to dwell on those reasons, but proceed to give you that intelligence you require, because I know you too well not to be certain that your wishing to be informed of anything that relates to me proceeds from (what must be so agreeable to me) your kind solicitude for my happiness. Before I can begin my little narrative, I must tell you how much I was pleased with the last kind letter you sent me by my uncle, Sir William Hamilton, with the ingenious specimens of engraving, which I shall prize because done by your hand. I must also inform you that my uncle and I have talked much of you. What he has said to me on this subject has made me feel happy that I possess the friendship of one who is so valuable a member of society, and, may I add, possesses sentiments of which I so entirely approve. Poor Lady Hamilton [Sir William's first wife]. Sir William has shewn me letters he found after her death addressed to himself, which have affected me exceedingly, and made me, if possible, still more sensible of her worth.

The alteration in my situation requires some explanation to an absent friend.

If you find my letter too long, remember 'tis in compliance with your desire that I enter into particular details of what concerns me. I was not educated with a view of living in a court, and had not consequently every advantage which that brilliant and exposed station required. I had seen very little of the *great world*, and my father, who had seen much of it, had given me no favourable impressions. After his death, my time and thoughts were wholly devoted to my Mother, whose ill health required every tender attention from *an only child*. Some dear friends of mine with partiality thought me equal to the important task of assisting in the government of the Royal Children, and, as the Queen was looking out for a third lady to be at the head of that establishment, they spoke of me. As my family was well known, the Queen soon gained the intelligence she required concerning me. All this was the work of three or four days, and without my knowledge, it was proposed to my Mother and me, and my friends urged me warmly to accept the honor. In less than a week I found myself in a situation I had never had the most distant idea of. I endeavoured to fulfil my duties to the best of my abilities, and had the satisfaction of being approved of. I experienced great goodness and attention from Her Majesty, and distinctions

which were not common. I soon found, however, that a constant exertion, and a life of fatigue, I had not been accustomed to, affected my health, which, though naturally good, was by no means equal to. It required a stronger constitution than I was blessed with. I had not time to possess my own mind, and my health and spirits suffered very much from leading a life of constant *restraint*. I felt myself unequal to it and regretted my loss of liberty. The situation became irksome, and I had few opportunities of enjoying the society of many most dear and valuable friends, for it was totally inconsistent with the place I was in to ask permission to live, so much as I wished, with those persons whom I loved. I therefore took the resolution to entreat Her Majesty to allow me to retire from Court. She was graciously pleased to write me a most affectionate letter, and desire that I would not quit her family, and attributed my request to the effect of low spirits. You may imagine that my affection for the Queen would not suffer me to press anything in opposition to her wishes, and I promised to remain some time longer. I continued near two years after this, and then again, from those motives I mentioned before, and others which it would not be proper for me to mention. I warmly pressed for leave to retire, and as I made a point of it, I obtained my wish. In my next, if you desire it, I will tell you in what manner I am settled, &c, &c, &c."

The following are extracts taken from Miss Hamilton's diaries and letters to Mr Dickenson, to whom she was engaged to be married.

"21st June, 1784. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 set out for Strawberry Hill. We arrived there $\frac{1}{4}$ before 3. Mr Walpole came out to meet us. Mrs Garrick came immediately after us. Mr Walpole was so obliging as to take us through most of the rooms, and opened the cabinets (which are not opened to the company who come to see the house) which contain miniatures and various fine and curious things, both modern and antique. The whole style of the house is true Gothic. Every room, closet, boudoir, and gallery, &c, has painted glass windows. It is the most perfect thing of the kind in England; I believe I may say in Europe. One ought to live in this house, at least a month to see everything. It is filled with vertu.

Mr Walpole was particularly attentive to me and gave himself much trouble, as he saw I enjoyed real pleasure in looking at the pictures and other curious and beautiful works of art. He was also so obliging as to shew me again (for I was here last year) the beautiful drawings of Lady Di. Beauclerk,

which are in a closet built on purpose, and which he only opens for his most particular friends. These drawing are subjects taken from a play he wrote of the *Mysterious Mother*. A tragedy I once heard read by Mr. Tyghe. The story is the most horrible to be conceived, but these drawings, tho' they recall to mind the horrid subject, are most affectingly interesting.

At 4 o'clock we went down to dinner. It was a very elegant one, incomparably well served. It shewed the master of the house was a man of fortune and taste accustomed to elegancies. I sat next to Mr Walpole, and he honored me with the greatest share of his attentions. We did not sit after dinner. The two gentlemen rose when we did, and Mr Walpole carried us to a closet filled with modern and old china. After we had amused ourselves there for some time, we went upstairs, and spent the remainder of our time, after coffee and tea, in very agreeable converse. I had an opportunity of $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour's private conversation with Mrs Garrick. She loves me with a most lively affection. I communicated to her my present prospect of future happiness. She shed tears of joy, and assured me she should receive you with open arms. I do not know a more warm or friendly heart than Mrs Garrick's. She possesses a truly great soul."

"24th June, 1784. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 set out with Mr and Mrs Vesey for Richmond Hill. I went over Kew Bridge for the first time since I left Court. How happy I felt when I compared my present liberty to that life of restraint. We got to Sir Joshua Reynolds' at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2. Mr Vesey left me and went to pay a visit to the Duke of Montagu, and the Duchess of Buccleugh. Sir Joshua Reynolds rode from town. He came a little before 4. He never sleeps here, and only comes once or twice a week to dine. The house is on the top of a hill, and commands the whole of the most beautiful view in the world. At least Lord Palmerston says so, who Sir Joshua Reynolds told me had been a prospect hunter all his life, and has seen all the views in Switzerland &c &c. Miss Palmer joined us. I like Miss Palmer [Sir Joshua's niece], she is a pretty woman, lively, and unaffected.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 all the party were assembled. It consisted of Lord and Lady Spencer, Miss Bingham, Miss Molesworth, the Bishop of St Asaph and his wife, Miss Ripley, Miss Georgina Ripley, and General Mordaunt."

"10th July, 1784. Miss Boyle is too well educated. It will prevent her enjoying the innocent pleasure of society, for every other female will not only envy her but be afraid of her, and the men in general are so jealous of our being as wise as

themselves, they will shun her. None will associate with her, but college pedants, rigid philosophers, or pretended 'Femmes savantes.' An affected 'Femme savante' is, in my opinion, a most disagreeable animal. The reason of this is that they always pretend to more knowledge than they possess, that they are ignorant of what they ought to know, are pert, affected, useless members of society. Mrs Carter, Miss Hannah More, Mrs Chapone, and two or three others I could name, I would except out of the list of what I call 'Femme savantes,' for their talents and amiable precepts have been a great service to society."

"2nd August, 1784." Miss Hamilton says her cousin Colonel Greville brought several complaints from Windsor, from the ladies and the Queen's family. She also alludes to her Uncle Sir William Hamilton's first wife, who was a Miss Barlow. They were married in 1758, and she died in 1782. It seems they were greatly attached to one another, and she, it is stated, was a very charming, excellent woman. Sir William was a foster-brother to King George III.

Sir William had written to his niece, Mary Hamilton, on 27th August, 1782, about the death of his wife :

"Your tender heart, my dear Niece, will I am sure take a part in my present affliction; your poor friend, and the dear companion of the last 24 years of my life, Alas! is no more . . . she expired on Sunday, 25th of August, in the 44th year of her age. She wanted nothing but health to have rendered her perfection itself, and yet her patience was such, that it never soured her temper, but one can not see sufferings without taking a share of them, and God knows hers were but too frequent, from almost the hour of our union. If ever purity, chastity, humility, charity, occupied a human breast more completely than they did that of my most respectable deceased Katherine, I am much mistaken. In short she was a perfect Christian, and 17 years passed in this corrupt country made not the least impression on her morals or sentiments, unless it was to increase her admiration for true virtue, and to look on vice with greater abhorrence. Even the late Cardinal Archbishop always quoted her as an example and would never visit another lady at Naples as he thought her the only one that led a decent and proper life, and as I have been informed, since the death of the Cardinal, he had made a prayer which he said daily that she might at last become a Catholic, tho' he never spoke to her on the subject."

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Other extracts from Miss Hamilton's diaries and letters are the following :

“*August 3rd, 1784.* The Prince of Wales rode yesterday from Brightelmstone to London attended by only Colonel Lake and 2 grooms. He started at 4 in ye morning and had relays of horses. After he arrived in London he walked 8 miles, and rode back to Brightelmstone in the evening. It was said he came to London to meet Charles Fox, at Mrs ——'s, also that he came to purchase a fan for a lady, and again that it was to invite the Duke of Châtres to Brightelmstone.”

Mr Langton gave Miss Hamilton an account of the alterations which had been made by Gobert at Chatsworth. How rapidly he was going on to spoil the house, until the Duke of Devonshire's agent remonstrated. He laid out £1500 in new furnishing the drawing-room, but all that he did was to put new chairs. “This Gobert was a cook, and is now employed by the fine people to decorate their houses instead of their tables. He has been the principal person employed in fitting up Carlton House.”

“*5th August, 1784.* My most engaging and most amiable friend [Mrs Delany] was very solicitous to know if I really felt happy in the prospect of being united to Mr D——son, and was satisfied with my assurance in the affirmative. She desired I would allow her some time to write to Lady C. French and her sister Lady Clayton to inform them of my engagement. She wished all those friends who were at a distance should know that what I intended doing was with the warmest approbation of all those who were already acquainted with it; and who were interested in my happiness. How shall I ever repay the goodness of so many kind friends as I am blessed with? I think myself the most fortunate of human beings. Those whom I give the title of dear friends are people of the most excellent character, and best principles. I am by their example encouraged to persevere in virtue and guard myself from folly.” [Mrs Delany was niece of the Minister, Lord Granville.]

“*16th August, 1784.* Mrs Delany made a very just observation to-day. She said that a certain woman of high rank of our acquaintance dressed out too much for a woman of fashion and quality. I think that as in breeding so in dress, people of real fashion are distinguished by ease, and one

generally may observe a much less ostentation of ornamental decoration, a certain chasteness of dress, which I admire."

"21st August, 1784. My conversation with Mrs Delany was very interesting. She talked of a future state &c, serious, but not gloomy were this angelic woman's reflections. Lady Stormont told me she had received letters from her sister the Duchess of Atholl and her brother Lord Cathcart [Miss Hamilton's cousins] and Lady Cathcart relative to my engagement to Mr Dickenson. That they said a thousand friendly things, and sent every kind of wish for my happiness. We talked of my Uncle William. Lord Stormont related the conversation that had passed between their Majesties and him on Thursday in the Drawing-room. The Queen asked Sir William whether he went alone to Naples, and at last fairly told him that the King had bid her find out whether he was going to marry. Sir William said he should be careful whom he chose. The Queen replied, 'I believe you have a bad opinion of our sex.' He answered her, that was by no means the case, but he had been so happy 24 years with the last Lady Hamilton that he should be fearful not to meet a 2nd time with the same fate. The King's was a stronger question, for he said to my Uncle, after asking him how he found his affairs in Wales, 'Well, and who shall you make your heir. I suppose your nephew Greville.' And Mr Greville was standing next to Sir William. He however answered . . . by saying that he should certainly keep that secret to himself, that no one had any claim upon him, as it was not a paternal inheritance, but the gift of his wife."

"22nd August, 1784. Sir William Hamilton said that when he was at Court on Thursday the Prince of Wales told him he had heard that I was going to be married . . . said very handsome things of me, and expressed warm and friendly wishes for my happiness."

On the 8th Dec. 1784, Miss Hamilton says she was driving down Curzon Street, in a carriage lent her by Lady Cremorne, when—

"The Prince of Wales passed in company with 3 gentlemen. He smiled, kissed his hand several times, and made a graceful bow. The carriage proceeded, and he walked on. Presently he returned, the servants were called to stop, and he came to ye coach door. His companions waited at ye end of the street. The following dialogue took place. He asked me to give him my hand in token of friendship, said how happy he was to see me, and that I looked quite well.

'Thank you Sir, I am very well.'

'I have been very ill, and am now far from well.'

'I heard you were ill Sir, and am sorry to hear your R.H. speak so hoarse.'

'I never see any of your relations or friends that I do not enquire after you, and send you messages.'

'I have Sir been informed of your kind remembrances.'

'Ought I to congratulate you?'

'No Sir.'

'When may I do so, when shall you change your name?'

'Sir, there are affairs to settle, and it will not take place soon.'

'You have been some time at Bulstrode.'

'Near three months.'

'I made particular enquiries when you were there, to know whether my Father, Mother, and Sisters had asked for you, and was much provoked and shocked to find they had not.'

'O Sir, I did not expect it, nor does it signify.'

'When are you going to live with the Baron and Baroness? Are you still with them? Do you live in Clarges Street?'

'Yes Sir.'

'Farewell, God bless you!'

I bowed in reply, and away he went. He kept my hand the whole time which greatly distressed me, as there were many bystanders."

The following are further extracts from Miss Hamilton's diaries and letters :

"11th Jan. 1785. I went, at the hour mentioned, to the Honble Mrs Walsingham's. We did not sit down to dinner till past 6 o'clock, and ye ladies quitted the dining-room at 8. The guests were Mrs Montagu; Mrs Garrick; Miss Hannah More; Dr Burney (who is just going to publish Handel's life &c); Miss Burney, his daughter, and my sweet little friend, who wrote 'Cecilia' &c; Dr and Mrs Wharton; Sir Joshua Reynolds; and Mr Boyle (Mrs Walsingham's son). The dinner was elegant, the wines suitable: Burgundy, Claret, Tokay, &c, &c. The diningroom lighted with 24 wax lights. The new service of plate also made its appearance. We had the addition of Mr Wraxall in the afternoon. The day passed very much to my taste. I had a great deal of Sir J., Dr and Mrs 'W., and Dr B.'s conversation. They all rallied me, but in a manner not to offend, upon being an

engaged person. Mrs Garrick and Miss More asked very kindly after you. [Mr Dickenson, the former Jacky, to whom she was engaged.] Mrs G. called you her dear Blackamoor. She desired me to tell you that she hoped to see you again soon.

Sir Joshua shewed us a precious miniature picture of Milton, which was painted by Milton's Friend, Cooper. He gave £100 for it. It is undoubtedly original, belonged to Mrs Deborah Milton, the daughter, who served Milton as an amanuensis. Sir Joshua also shewed an engraving, for the honor of our sex, done by a young woman of 18. Mrs Walsingham treated us with reading some of her Father's [Sir Charles Hanbury Williams] manuscript writings, both in prose & verse. I suppose you may have heard that Sir C. H. was a man of infinite wit though of infamous morals.

I had almost forgot to mention something that gave me great satisfaction. I told my friend Sir Joshua, that my Uncle, Sir William Hamilton, had given me a portrait of himself, of his [Sir Joshua's] painting. He recollected the picture, & very genteely desired I would send it to him, & he would renovate it with lasting colors. He also told me he would make me a present of two proof prints, one of Dr Wharton, & one of his brother Mr Wharton, from his paintings."

"15th Jan. 1785. I have had the pleasure to-day of seeing Lady J. Penn and Mrs Fielding, who is her niece and daughter of Lady Charlotte Finch, the Governess to the Royal Children. These two ladies are women of great merit, such characters as render their intimacy an advantage in every respect."

"16th Jan. 1785. The Lady sent her coach for me. At her fine house in Portman Square, the party 13 people. The men were Dr Walters, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr Burney, Mr Cole, Mr Soame Jennings, Mr Jerningham. I think I never met any one whose wit was so truly brilliant as Mr. Jennings'."

"17th Jan. 1785. At 5 o'clock Charlotte [Miss Gunning] and Miss Tryon [Maids of Honour] came for me in the Maids' of Honor Coach. We went to Lady Clavering's. Mrs Johnson and Mrs Pechell were the only additional dinner guests. Banter and fashionable conversation. It is very amusing to me, thus to have opportunities of studying ye characters and styles of different sets and ranks of people."

"2nd Feb. 1785. Went to the Theatre. I was extremely satisfied with ye manner in which Mrs Siddons performed: and as far as I can judge she acted Lady Macbeth full as well as any other character I have seen her in. Mrs Siddons' sister was hissed, which I did not wonder at, as she was a very

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indifferent actress. Yet I think for Mrs Siddons' sake, the audience should have spared her."

On the 17th Feb. 1785, Sir Robert and Lady Herries sent their coach at 8 o'clock for Miss Hamilton, who says :

"We went together to dine at Sir Joshua Reynolds'. There were agreeable clever people. Besides him and his niece, Miss Palmer [who became Marchioness of Thomond], who does the honors of his house, were, Mr Joseph Banks, Mr Hodgkinson, Mr Lock and his son, and a Mr Cholmondely. Sir Joshua shewed me my Uncle William's portrait, which he has retouched, and made a very exquisite picture of indeed. But how I shall get it out of his hands I know not, for he has set so high a price upon his labor, that it will not be in my power to pay it. The demand is absolutely enormous. Nothing, he declares, will satisfy him but my giving him a kiss. Now, as I never bestowed this favour but upon my Father, and once or twice on my adopted one [Mr Glover], I fear I shall not bring myself to redeem my Uncle's picture. I would not have been so prudish as to have refused the man the honour of bowing on my hand. Nay, so much was I obliged & charmed by having my Uncle's picture in such a state of perfection, that I might have gone so far as to *turn my cheek* to receive a salute. But as I cannot give the first nor offer the last, I must, by some stratagem, endeavour to get possession of my property."

The picture referred to is one of my earliest recollections, hanging over the dining-room door in my house at 32, Devonshire Place. It was later in the possession of my nephew, the late Sir William Anson, Bart, and hung in the Warden's house, at All Souls College, Oxford.

Miss Hamilton married Mr Dickenson, my grandfather, on the 13th June, 1786.



*Given by Miss Mary Hamilton to the
 Asaha State Library
 Hyderabad, India, 1907*

MISS MARY HAMILTON.

CHAPTER II

MY GRANDFATHER AND HIS TIMES

My earliest ancestor, on my mother's side, of whom there is any record, was Samuel Dickenson, of Ardwick, near Manchester, who, in 1679, married the daughter of Dr Birch, of Birch Hall, Rusholme, Manchester. His son John was born in 1689, and died in 1779, at the age of 90. He married Mary, the daughter of Thomas Goulborne of Warrington, who was born in 1695, and died in 1781. John, their eldest son, was born in 1726, and died in 1810. He married Sarah, the daughter of Thomas Chetham of Mellor Hall. She was born in 1726, and died in 1780. (The Chethams of Mellor Hall were a branch of the Crumpsall Chethams.) Their son John was born the 22nd May, 1755, and was my grandfather.

John Dickenson, my great-great-grandfather, was the owner of a house in Manchester. This house was situated in Market Street Lane, and, in 1745, was selected as the headquarters for Prince Charles, the Pretender. In this house, when Mr Dickenson did homage to the Prince, there was present only an old Quaker, who refused to give evidence against him, as he would not be a party to the hanging of "Friend" Dickenson. I possess a photograph of an old print of this house. The house is described by Harrison Ainsworth, in his book, *The Manchester Rebels of the Fatal '45*, thus: "The Mansion, one of the best in the town, was built of red brick, in the formal taste of the period. Still it was large and commodious, and contained some handsome apartments. Standing back from the street, it had a paved court in front, surrounded by iron railings, and a lofty flight of steps led to the doorway." It was, after the occupation of the Prince, always known as *The Palace*; and afterwards, in my great-grandfather's time, became the Palace Inn.

My great-grandfather, Mr Dickenson, was away from home, in Ireland, in connection with a lawsuit, in 1755, when his son John was born. His wife wrote to him, and scolded him for being in low spirits, and for his fear of going to Ireland, for he had said in a letter to her he would "rather go the Anson Voyages than to see Ireland." It is said that coming events cast their shadows before them. The remark seems to have foreshadowed the union of his granddaughter with a member of the Anson family.

My grandfather was sent to school at Northampton, in 1771, and there made the acquaintance of Mary Hamilton, who was living there at that time with her father and mother.

There is rather an amusing letter written by Mrs Dickenson to her cousin, Mr. Lawton, when her son John was sent to his care at Northampton, on the 21st Jan. 1771.

"We have sent you our dear lad, I have often wished him 100 miles from home, and, indeed, he has been too long under his mother's wing. We part with him with pleasure, as he will be under your eye. He has hitherto been a dutiful child, and I hope will endeavour to improve himself under his new master, and that he will observe anything as you are so kind as to say to him. Pray keep him at a proper distance, and don't let your good nature induce you to have him too often; for it would give us uneasiness to think he should be troublesome to you. . . . Mr D. would have bought him two new coats, but I thought his old gray one would do to wear in school, so we concluded he should have a broadcloth in the spring, which you and he are to chuse. Mr Dickenson would have Jack entered at the latin school, and go one half of his time there, and the other to writing and accompts. Mr D. has given him money for the two entrances, and desires you will tell Jack the price of that fumigating instrument, and he will pay you for it, and Mr D. is greatly obliged to you for getting it. This is the first time Jack has ever boarded in a school, and I always thought it of the highest consequence, to youth, the fixing a proper acquaintance, at first. If they happen to contract an intimacy with a boy of bad dispositions, it will have more influence upon a young mind than people generally imagine. I wish it were in your power to direct who he is to have for his bedfellow, but this I fear cannot be done. I should be more thankful to Mr Wooley for fixing him with a good boy, than for all his other instructions. He, at present, seems to

have no kind of vice. He is honest, sincere, grateful, and affectionate, and seems to have an abhorrence to every kind of immorality. Pray heaven continue him in these good dispositions, for his father and I would be much happier to see him a good man, rather than a great one."

In 1771, Jack lost a sister, and his mother writes to her cousin, at Northampton, and asks him to comfort her dear lad, and says: "Mr D. would have him to have his blue coat new trimmed with black buttons and button holes." As "Jack will not come down for some time," she thinks it would be better not to have the color too dark, and it will serve for both first and second mourning.

Mrs Dickenson writes to Mary Hamilton from Taxal, on the 21st Jan. 1771. She apologises for being a bad correspondent, and says her whole time is taken up with her family, and that if Miss H. could see them, she would be diverted. But that which is pleasing to a fond mother is too insignificant to be committed to paper. She goes on to say, "You will easily guess who is the bearer of this letter, by his complexion. He has had great disadvantages, by being brought up at a country school, but I hope your fine town will polish him. I am under a good deal of anxiety in parting with my dear boy."

On the 11th June, 1775, Mrs Dickenson writes to Miss Hamilton how pleased she is to hear from her, after so long a silence. How much benefit she has received from a stay at Buxton. She had suffered from rheumatism, and requests Miss Hamilton to tell her mother that, should she ever be troubled with rheumatism, that Buxton is the only place in the world to go to, and a few weeks may be agreeably spent there. That Matlock, which most people go to after bathing at Buxton, is a sweet, pretty romantic place. Mrs D. hopes to visit Northampton again. Her old friend Jack is now at home for the holidays, and desires his compliments. He is very happily fixed with a worthy clergyman near Derby. A man of great sense and learning, who only takes four boarders, and whose behaviour is so agreeable to Jack that he pursues his studies with the greatest pleasure. "He is, at present, as good as we could wish him."

It would appear that Master Jack took to corresponding

with Mary Hamilton, for in an undated letter to him she expresses surprise that he should take it into his head to alter his style, and he must not take it amiss if, for the future, she should confine her correspondence to his amiable mother. This, she says, will not in the least diminish the friendship and good will she bears towards him, but will prevent his mistaking her meaning, and spare her the distress she should feel. She should be sorry if what she has wrote should appear the dictate of a bad temper, and asks him to do her the justice to believe she wishes him all happiness, and that that was one motive of her writing in the manner she had done. She winds up with, "Adieu, I remain your sincere friend, Mary Hamilton." This letter is docketed, on the back of it, in John Dickenson's handwriting, "Death and Destruction." He had evidently written in more affectionate terms than the young lady, at that time, approved of.

There is no account of the meeting again of Master Jack and Miss Hamilton until the 17th Jan. 1784, which meeting was followed by their engagement the next day, and by their marriage on the 18th June, 1786. My mother, their only child, was born in 1787.

My grandmother, writing to a friend in 1787, refering to her uncle, Sir William Hamilton, says :

"I rec^d a long letter from him, a few days ago, dated Jany 8th, from Caserta. He has no thought of marrying at present, I wish he had, & could meet with a woman of sense, elegance, & good principles who could attach him for life; but I have *reason now* to apprehend he never will marry. He tells me y^t his health is better than it has been for some years past, not but that he perceives that he is growing old. He shoots with the King of Naples as much as ever, which he believes contributes greatly to his preservation, and which is the principal reason of his pursuing it. Music, & the love of ye Arts, & Natural History, fill up his vacant hours well." He is likewise much taken up with the direction of the Queen of Naples's English Garden at Caserta. His domestic hours *have many charms* to interest him."

Sir William, however, married, in 1791, Emma Hart (or Lyon), the Lady Hamilton who was the friend of Nelson.

My grandfather's sister, Elizabeth Dickenson, married the

Chevalier Giovanni Domenico Palombi, Knight of the Order of Malta, of Lecce in the Kingdom of Naples.

On the 29th August, 1791, Mrs Palombi writes to her sister that she and her husband intend to go to Naples, and that Sir William Hamilton and Emma [Lady Hamilton] promise civilities on their arrival there. She has not yet had the pleasure of hearing her sing, but yesterday she walked in Kensington Gardens and had tea with Emma. She says that she and her husband have decided to go by way of Paris, Rome and Venice, and leave on Wednesday (31st), and expect to meet Sir William and Lady Hamilton in Paris or Rome.

On the 25th Oct. 1766, Mrs Palombi, in a letter from Naples, says she has dined with Sir William Hamilton and Emma, and taken her children to see them.

On the 23rd Dec. 1799, she wrote that Lady Hamilton had behaved very badly at Naples, and ruined her and her husband by her deceitful promises; and his great friend, the Queen of Naples, by her advice; and that the miseries of Naples were all attributed to her.

A gentleman connected with Naples gave my grandfather the following anecdote concerning the King of Naples: "A widow, whose property had been long in the Court of Chancery, presented a memorial to the King, who sent for the Chancellor and desired him to let a decree be passed, and an end put to the suit. Six months afterwards, the widow presented another memorial, upon which the King sent again for the Chancellor, who said the regular course of proceeding could not be broken, and made many excuses. The King said he must not interrupt "ye course of the law, and that he would have the Chancellor be as long about it as he liked, and by no means hasten the business, as he had granted his salary to the poor widow." This was followed by a remark in the letter, that a similar stimulus would curtail all lawsuits.

I find in my grandfather's diary the following entries:

9th April, 1788. "Called on Mrs Delany."

15th April. "Mrs Delany died at 11 o'clock this evening."

17th April. "Sat some time at Miss Burney's, at St James's. Called at Mrs Delany's, and saw the dear remains of ye excellent woman in her coffin."

3rd June, 1788. "I went to Westminster Hall to hear

Mr Sheridan sum up the evidence on ye 1st charge against Mr Warren Hastings. He spoke $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours."

13th June. "Went to hear Sheridan conclude his charge against Hastings. He spoke 3 hours and 40 minutes."

My grandfather went alone to Bath for his health in the year 1789; and in a letter he wrote to his wife, dated the 23rd June, he says:

"You would be excessively grieved to hear all that is said of y^r friend *Ton P* [George Prince of Wales]. Ah! what will become of this unfortunate country. At Boodles a certain person said he w^d be drunk that night, on acc^t of York's [Duke of York] safety, upon w^h great numbers followed into a room set apart for Royal toppers. Some climbed on benches, some on tables to see and hear what passed. When the Prince said he would give a toast a solemn silence prevailed, and the following words were uttered by the heir to the throne.

'Here's to all our friends, and damnation to those relations who don't love their families.' This was a dutiful compliment to his mother. As to the message alluded to in the letter w^h we read together in the paper it was too unmanly, too infamous, and too obscene for me to write to you. The basest mind and the most corrupted heart must combine to invent anything so horrible."

While at Bath my grandfather paid a visit to Miss Hannah More, which he described in the following letter to his wife, dated the 4th August.

"I had a most cordial reception from Hannah & Patty who was arrived here before me. This little cottage is exactly what I expected to find, very neat, prettily furnished & the rooms small. The little pleasure ground very well planted with shrubs & an excessive pretty root house—about 50 yards from the house where they generally breakfast & drink tea. It has no pretensions & is exactly what you & I shall like to have in our grove. . . . I made a sketch of it & the house. I found Hannah *very low*. She attributed it to a disagreeable accident that had happened which had damped all their summer enjoyment, as there is only one month that the sisters can live together here. . . . I spoke of Mrs Garrick's coming to Bath with great glee. A certain person seemed *very cool* upon that subject. I said I suppose you will go to Bath to meet her. She said no. . . .

At 9 o'clock Mr — whose name I don't at this moment recollect came to breakfast from Bristol. He is brother to a

clergyman who has wrote a great deal about the abolition of slave trade: as this is a subject very near Hannah's heart, of course nothing else was talked of. A thousand instances of barbarity were spoken of which struck me with horror, & I thought it impossible for a human being to be so *diabolical*. . . .

Miss More has lately written a very pretty thing which she gave me for you. The title of it 'Bishop Bonner's ghost.' I am very much pleased with it. The whole is a compliment to the Bishop of London in forming a comparison between the two. She wrote it at Mrs Boscawen's who shewed it to Mr Walpole and he insisted upon printing it at Strawberry Hill"

The following letters were written to my grandmother by Hannah More.

1786.

"I had yesterday one of those quiet domestic days you used to like. I dined with the virtuous and amiable Mr Langton and Lady Rothes. We had a sober meeting, rational country-like day, so that I could hardly persuade myself I was in this region of dissipation and vanity. I am going this evening where you will be again desired, to Lady Cremorne's. I know not who is to be the party except our dear Mrs Carter. Mrs Garrick stayed in town one day in order to see your Lord and Master. I don't know anything else would have kept her here.

Adieu ! my charming friend,

Your ever faithful

HANNAH MORE."

1789.

Apologizes for not having written for so long. Has been ill.

"The great and just subject for joy, the King's recovery, has converted London into a scene of phrenzy and riot, much I suppose like the season of Carnival abroad. Tho' I heartily and cordially join in the general joy, yet I cannot help thinking we *praise the gods amiss*, for I do not find that this most important and blessed event (for such I do not scruple to call it) has been commemorated by any one distinguished act of mercy or liberality. Bells and illuminations are but poor delights in themselves, and give no pleasure the next day; the bandeau at the ball is soon dirty, and the oil in the lamp is soon spent, but some public act of beneficence would have

recorded it indelibly. The King indeed, to his great honour, has made a public acknowledgment to the Power that raised him up: and has discovered sentiments of piety and gratitude which do him the highest credit. Dr Willis, with whom I dined one day, told me that in the depth of his affliction his trust in God never once deserted him, and that he never saw a more edifying piety. I dont mean to be cynical, I *approve* of all the public rejoicings, only I cannot help thinking that if one half of the money which has been spent on gold fringe and candles had been devoted to the relief or discharge of prisoners for debt, the satisfaction would have been more solid and durable.

I have not seen Mr Walpole these three weeks; but Mrs Garrick saw him the other night in the box whither he went to see the first performance of General Conway's Comedy. It was well received which gave me much pleasure, both from the regard I bear the Author, whose amiable manners every body must be pleased with, and the interest I knew Mrs Walpole would take in his success. I expect to meet the latter to-morrow night at Miss Berry's. He has just sent me an extraordinary poem of which you are more worthy than I am, *The Botanic Garden, or the loves of the plants*. As I am not a botanist, of course I must lose the best part of the pleasure it affords, and cannot help regretting that such very fine poetic powers have been devoted to a subject so little suited to the genius of poetry. The Author has a splendid imagination, and there is a richness and harmony in the versification which must delight every reader who has an ear, and taste and feeling, whether he has any botanic science or not, but even those who have will, I think, regret his choice of a subject.

Miss Port's marriage is a most desirable event.

I dined the other day with Dr Burney, who gives a good account of his daughter, but she is invisible as usual, but quite happy on this restoration of the King.

I dined yesterday with several of your friends at Mrs Montagu's. I expected Mrs Carter but she was not of the party. Indeed to my great regret I never saw so little of her as this winter; weather and health have concurred to do me this injury. And above all that pleasant and friendly house in Clarges Street, where we have spent so many social cheerful hours, where one felt all the same as being at home, and all the pleasure of being in the best company. Poor dear Mrs Vesey! we shall never more find anything like her. Such an assemblage of pleasant qualities, and amiable virtues. It is some comfort however that she is more quiet and less unhappy. I rejoice that there is a chance of Sir William Hamilton's

arrival bringing you to Town next year, I hope we may reckon upon it. I suppose you have heard that the Queen and Princesses are to go to the French Ambassador's Fête. It will be a great honour, and a great puzzle how to select company fit to meet such a guest.

I leave the detail of processions and illuminations to newspapers, and proceed to the more interesting subject your dear husband and sweet little girl [my mother], of whom I rejoice to hear such good accounts.

Patty joins me in all that is kind and affectionate to you and them. We now begin to migrate once or twice a week to Frampton; in the end of next month she will settle there, and as early in June as I can I shall hasten to my dear little cottage, more endeared to me by absence and the increasing folly and madness of the Town, in which, as Cowper says, is 'Much that I love, and more that I admire, and all that I abhor.'

Adieu my dear friend,

Yours ever
H. MORE."

The following extracts from other old-time letters may be found interesting.

From Miss Mary Glover, from Albemarle Street, the 21st August, 1786.

"Your charming friend Mrs Delany is quite well. You were, no doubt, alarmed when you heard of the attempt on the King. He had sent on express to Windsor to prevent the Queen from hearing of it, but on arriving at Windsor he went to the room where the Queen and Princesses were, and saluted them with the words, 'Well, thank God! I am not in the least hurt.' The Queen was in agonies for some time. The Princesses burst into tears, and the Queen also shed tears. The King was much hurt at his imprudence, and greatly alarmed for the Queen, for she hardly recovered the whole evening.

The Prince of Wales came on the Friday to Windsor. The Queen saw him but not the King, and on his birthday they left Windsor. The King resents his intimacy with Mrs Fitzherbert. If it had not been for that, he would have paid all his debts."

From James Boswell, 4th May, 1792.

He regrets an engagement at the literary club, to meet the

Bishop of Salisbury, and cannot share in the festivities of an *ever cheerful friend*, with the *Darbyshire Lawd* [Mr Dickenson] and his lady. If she and he and Miss Dickenson will honour him with their company at breakfast, any morning, it will make him very happy.

Epitaph on Dr JOHNSON,
by SOAME JENNINGS, Esq.
sent to Mrs DICKENSON.

"Here lies poor J——n, reader have care!
Tread lightly lest you rouse a sleeping bear.
Religious, moral, generous, and humane,
He was; but self-sufficient, rude, and vain:
Ill bred, and overbearing in dispute;
A scholar and a Christian, yet a brute.
Would you know all his wisdom and his folly;
His actions, sayings, mirth, and melancholy;
Boswell and Thrale, retailers of his wit,
Will tell you how he wrote, talk'd, coughed, and spit."

From S. Nicolls, from Brighton, to my grandfather, Mr Dickenson, 16th October, 1792.

He says, "Our neighbours the Prince and Mrs Fitzherbert are going into winter quarters." The Prince has been ill, and not able to dance upon the green before his [Mr Nicolls'] windows, which was his constant amusement. "He is very attentive to Mrs Fitz. I see her go to breakfast most mornings, as her house is near the Pavilion," which is a pretty object to their [Mr Nicolls] windows. "The French keep coming over in boat loads with their herrings, which are a farthing apiece. Never was known such sholes (*sic*) of both before." He says, he saw "a Countess, in a large hoop and silk gown, walking about, yesterday, early in the morning. They say she escaped in an open boat [from France], with four children, with no more clothes than she has on. The ladies have show'd her great attentions."

From Mrs Kerr, from Northampton, to my grandmother, 6th August, 1803.

Sir William Wake, Mr Bouverie, and Mr Andrew, have raised a troop of Yeomanry, which the Government have informed them is to be at their own expense. This is considered a complete take in on the part of the Government, and the

parties concerned began to revolt, but Sir William Wake came forward, most handsomely, and subscribed £100, which saved the credit of the Corps. This example was partially followed. Lord Spencer was so pleased with Sir William's conduct that he said he would rather be at the whole expense of the troop himself, than that it should fail. Most of the noblemen and gentlemen are repairing to their properties to see what can be done there. The Althorp family purposes remaining there. Mrs Kerr spent the last week at Castle Ashby. His Lord-lieutenanship is exerting himself more than she imagined had belonged to his character. "He spares neither purse nor time, but they are worthy people, such as I trust there are enough of, to save this loved, but tottery country from falling."

My grandfather, writing to his sister on 28th August, 1812, said that, at Portsmouth, he saw "16 men and 2 overseers at work with hammers of 24 lbs. each at an anchor of the greatest magnitude, weighing 85 cwt. 2 qrs. 14 lbs. It takes a month to make it. There are two immense bellows worked by a lever, and 4 or 5 men are employed in pressing their weight alternately upon the bellows. It takes 4 hours to make this large mass red hot. The beginning of an anchor is a small round bar of iron surrounded by small square bars which are held together by hoops then heated and welded. The additions are made gradually." He said that Captain Pakenham had made the finest collections of shells in the world, in the East Indies. He had taken some Malay pirates prisoners, who adopted and executed the horrid plan of blowing up the ship; and away went the Captain, the shells and themselves. Portsmouth is very badly supplied with water.

Miss Dickenson (my mother), on 26th Jan., 1815, married Major-General Sir William Anson, K.C.B. In September of that year her mother, Mrs Dickenson, received the following letter from Charlotte Augusta Matilda, Queen of Wurtemberg, Princess Royal of England, daughter of George III, who had been one of the Royal children under her charge.

"Louisbourg, Sept. 13th, 1815.

MY DEAR MADAM,

I seize the very first opportunity to return you thanks for your obliging letter of July 8th. It gave me much

pleasure to see your handwriting again, ever having thought of you with regard. I have frequently heard of you by my friend Lady Cremorne, who I am glad to find continues in tolerable health, & enjoys the comfort of making the situation of her late Lord's relations pleasant. I was sorry to hear that you had both lost your friend Lady Wake, who I remember your ever speaking of with affection. She had I understand the comfort of seeing both her daughters settled before her death, which has been a great ease to her mind, as I believe her daughter-in-law did not quite suit her.

I beg my dear Madam that you will be convinced that it has given me pleasure to hear several persons speak in praise of Lady Anson's modesty & amiable character. I hope she will be happy, & ever continue to shew you every dutiful attention, & to deserve your affection. It appears to me a great blessing to you both, that you are to continue to live in the same house, though with separate establishments, which is certainly a wise plan, as it avoids many unpleasant discussions. I will now take my leave, & remain, with regard, my dear Madam, affectionately yrs,

CHARLOTTE."

In the year 1798, in a letter referring to the Queen of Wurtemberg (at that time Duchess of Wurtemberg), it was stated :

"Her conduct and manners are much approved. She writes as piously as she feels, which is a great comfort, when there is so much wickedness in Germany. She has by her example had working *left off* by the Court ladies on Sunday. She did not think it right she said. She should never work herself. In consequence no lady has worked on that day since ; at least in her presence."

My grandmother died 25th May, 1816. Entries in my grandfather's diary show what medical treatment was like at that period. My grandmother seems to have been taken ill on the 13th May, and in the interval between that date and the 25th had been three times bled, leeches once, cupped once, and salivated with mercury.

My grandfather took much interest in the case of the Princess of Cumberland, and I have found the following entries in his diary.

April 19th, 1820. "Attended Mrs Serres and her daughter to Alderman Wood's, where we met the Duke of Sussex and

the Duke of Hamilton, to shew proofs of her being the daughter of the late Duke of Cumberland."

April 26th. "I called on Mrs Serres at 92 Chancery Lane, a lock up house; She having been arrested last night."

May 2nd. "I visited Mrs Serres, and with great trouble, and some expense, procured a compromise and her liberation."

May 5th. "Called on Mrs Serres who is in confinement on a fresh account."

May 10th. "Saw Mrs Serres leave her place of confinement."

May 16th. "Mrs Serres entrusted me with a political paper of the utmost consequence."

June 3rd. "Attended at Mrs Serres at 12 o'clock, and met General Dusseaux and Mr Wilmot, when we signed the copies of the documents of her birth."

Sept. 4th. "I accompanied Mr Brett to the Duke of Sussex relative to his own and Mrs Serres's affairs."

Sept. 6th. "The Duke of Sussex and the Princess of Cumberland [Mrs Serres] with her daughter Lavinia, and the Revd Mr Brett, met at my house, when the Princess shewed the documents relative to their birth to the Duke."

Sept. 9th. "Called on the Princess of Cumberland."

1821, Jan. 18th. "Was informed that all was settled about the Princess."

Jan. 23. "Ball came to Alfred Place at 5 o'clock, to inform us that the King acknowledged the Princess of Cumberland, and that a commission would be issued immediately."

Feb. 3rd. "Called on Ball, who said he sat up till 2 this morning to write a letter to the King, which the Duke of Wellington had engaged to deliver to His Majesty."

In the year 1830 the Earl of Warwick, in a letter to my grandfather from Warwick Castle, enclosed extracts from an old newspaper which contained a report of the case of the Princess Olive. He sent them to my grandfather, he said, because my grandfather had been a subscribing witness to his [Lord Warwick's] grandfather's handwriting in them. The following are copied from the report :

"George R. Whereas it is our Royal command that the birth of Olive the Duke of Cumberland's daughter is never to be made known, &c. &c. &c.

• WARWICK.

Kew Palace, May 2nd, 1773.
Chatham."

“George R. St. James’s.

In case of our Royal Demise we give and bequeath to Olive, our brother of Cumberland’s daughter, the sum of fifteen thousand pounds, &c. &c. &c.

WARWICK.

June 2nd, 1774.
Chatham.

Witness, T. Dunning.”

My father was born the 13th August, 1772, he was the great-nephew of the famous Admiral Lord Anson, who married the daughter of Lord Hardwicke, but had no family. The Admiral’s sister, Janette, married Sambrooke Adams, Esq., whose son, George, inherited the estates of his two maternal uncles, and assumed the name of Anson. He married, in 1763, Mary, daughter of George Venables, first Lord Vernon. His eldest son became Viscount Anson, and married the daughter of Thomas Coke, of Holkham, who became Earl of Leicester. His fourth son was my father.

In 1831, my father received a letter from his nephew, Lord Anson, from which the following is an extract :

“I send you two lines to apprise you of the kind and handsome manner in which the King has pleased to elevate me to the rank of Earl.

It was totally unexpected on my part, and I had not the slightest intimation of it, when I arrived in town on Tuesday. I had an audience on Wednesday and it is impossible to describe the kind and flattering reception I met with on that occasion from His Majesty. He said he had chosen Duncan and myself as belonging to the two most distinguished naval families in this country, and that indeed it was impossible to forget the service of the family in general to the country.

As you will see, we are the only two promotions to Earldoms. There is no doubt it was his own act and deed.”

My father became an ensign in the Foot Guards on 13th June, 1789, a Major-General in 1811, and a General in 1837. In 1831 he was created a Baronet for his services, having previously been made a K.C.B. He served in Holland in 1793, in Flanders and Germany 1794–1795, in Sicily 1806–1808, in north Spain 1803–1809 (commanded the 1st Regiment

of Foot Guards at the battle of Corunna), in the Scheldt, 1809, and in the Peninsula, 1811-1814, where he commanded a brigade in the 4th Division. He received the gold cross and three clasps for Corunna, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Orthes, and Toulouse. He died in 1847.

CHAPTER III

WHEN I WAS YOUNG

HAVING given an account of my forebears, I now commence an account of myself.

I was born on the 16th April, 1826, in company with a twin sister, who preceded me. She was fat, I was thin, and was not expected to be reared. We were born at 32, Devonshire Place, London, and christened in the drawing-room there, by my cousin William Lloyd, afterwards Archdeacon of Natal. Of him, Bishop Grey, of the Cape, when I was staying with him, in 1853, at Lord Morton's, at Dalmahoy, near Edinburgh, told me that, on one occasion, when he made his visitation to him, at Natal, he gave him a champagne breakfast, but did not pay him the money he owed him.

My godfathers were, the Earl of Rosebery, after whom I was named Archibald, and Lord Suffield, who gave me the names of Edward Harbord. I have the letter which Lord Suffield wrote to my father saying, "I can never cease to derive pleasure from the connection of my own name with that of Anson." Both these godfathers were connected with me by marriage.

One of my earliest recollections is the death of King George the Fourth. I was then four years old, but I could now point out the spot in the park at Grundisburgh Hall, near Woodbridge, in Suffolk, where this was talked about by my sisters and their French governess; the latter was at the moment picking blue cornflowers and calling them "jolis bluets." I remember, also, when being dressed by my nurse at that age, and sitting on her knee before the fire, saying to her, that I was four years old, and, in four years, I should be eight.

Another recollection I have about the same time, is hearing the watchman calling the hour at night. I also heard this in

Limerick so late as in 1851, on which occasion I saw the watchman on duty, dressed for his night's work.

It was our family custom always to go to the house in London in February, in time for the first Philharmonic concert; and to leave again about the 18th June. These fittings were made in the yellow family coach, with four post horses; six of us inside, with birds in small travelling cages suspended there, two of us on the box, and two (the lady's maid and footman) in the rumble. It was my lot to sit bodkin opposite my twin, inside, between my father and mother, and I used to "catch it" for being a fidget. The long journey of seventy-two miles was very wearisome to me, and it was very trying to have to sit still, in a cramped position, for so many hours. As I grew older, I was allowed to sit bodkin on the box. Being very thin, I was supposed to require very little room, and was a good deal squeezed in consequence. It was a great interest to my sister and myself to see the different colours of the postboys' jackets at each change of horses. Before travelling, the carriage had to be sent to the coachmaker's to have the old-fashioned springs stiffened up, to bear the extra weight of the imperials on the top, the rumble, the box at the back of it, and the box under the coach box, besides the unusual number of passengers.

Our family consisted of my father and mother, my three brothers and three sisters, besides myself. The butler and housekeeper were husband and wife, and had been many years in my grandfather's service. My mother's maid was their daughter, and eventually married the house steward at Lord Lichfield's in St James Square. He afterwards became porter at the First Lord of the Treasury's Office, No. 10, Downing Street. There they had very comfortable quarters, and were joined by her father and mother, when they retired from service. Their niece was my twin sister's and my nurse, and when the old butler retired, his nephew got the place, and afterwards married his cousin, who was lady's maid to my brother's wife, when my brother married. This is a very different state of things from that which exists, in regard to servants, at the present day.

Besides the servants already mentioned, there was my father's old footman and valet, who had been with him for

many years, and with one of his brothers, General Sir George Anson, before that. This man's son was the under-footman. Then there was our head gardener, who was also generally useful out of doors. All these domestics we regarded as quite members of the family, and we children were devoted to them, as they were to us. Our old gamekeeper, at Grundisburgh, was a character in his way. He wore a pair of spectacles with large round glasses, which had rims of wood, about an eighth of an inch wide, between the steel frames and the glasses. He lived with his sister in a cottage at Great Bealings, where he performed the duties of clerk at the church on Sundays. His sister supplied us with hams and sausages, of her own manufacture. I and my third brother sometimes went to her cottage, and had a sausage breakfast there, the sausages being cooked on the fire besides us. How we managed to eat so many sausages, and not be ill after them, is now a marvel to me.

On the 24th Oct., 1832, my father went to stay with his nephew, Lord Lichfield, at Shugborough, to meet the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria, and to witness the presentation, to the Duchess, of the address from Stafford, and the Yeomanry Review in the park. There was a luncheon in a large temporary room, built for the occasion. On the 26th, my father, mother, and eldest sister, went to the hotel at Newport to meet the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria, who lunched there on their way to Lord Liverpool's. The Princess stood at the left hand of the Duchess during the delivery of an address. Several people were introduced to the Duchess, who spoke to some of the ladies she knew, and to my father, to whom she expressed her pleasure at her visit to Shugborough, and also at her reception in Staffordshire and at Newport.

While at Grundisburgh I was one day driven over to Felixstowe, which was then a very small and little-known place, with one or two small wooden huts on the beach in which parties could dispose of the refreshments they brought with them. I walked with my companion, an old servant, from there to Landguard Fort, opposite Harwich, and was shown over the Fort by an artilleryman, who took us into the chapel, put me into the pulpit and gave me his blessing. He was not quite himself. This was my first introduction to a

specimen of the regiment to which, in the future, I was to belong.

In the summer, when we were all at home, we amused ourselves with what we called the *Budget*. This was a box placed in one of the arbours in the garden, into which we each had to place, weekly, one or more contributions in verse. The contributions were read out by my eldest brother, on the Saturday, while we sat with our backs to him; and we had to guess who was the author of each contribution. My father, grandfather, mother, and my mother's lady's maid, were contributors as well as the six of us. My twin sister and I were only from eight to ten years of age; it may be imagined, therefore, that our contributions were of a very mild description. We were always shy of being seen going to the arbour to place our contributions in the box, and consequently endeavoured to avoid observation by many subtle stratagems.

Before I went to school, my father thought it right to instruct me in the Latin grammar. I slept in his dressing-room, and I had to repeat my lesson to him when he came into the room in the morning. I could not tackle "Noun, pronoun, verb, participle—declined; adverb, conjunction, preposition, interjection—undeclined," from the Eton Latin Grammar of 1831, entitled, *An Introduction to the Latin Tongue, for the use of Youth*. It conveyed no meaning to my mind, and I had my ears and hair pulled, and was called an owl, because I could not repeat it. I have the old Grammar now (1919), and when I look at it, I recall my old troubles in connection with those lessons.

On the 18th April, 1834, I was sent to the Rev. Dr Pinckney's school, at Temple Grove, East Sheen. It was then the great preparatory school for Eton. Three of my brothers had been at the school before me.

My grandfather drove me down from London to East Sheen, and I have a keen recollection of my feeling of desolation when he drove away, and the iron gates were closed, and I was left standing alone on the long, paved footpath leading up to the front door of the house.* I was barely eight years old,

* The school has lately been removed to Eastbourne, where it bears its old name of Temple Grove.

I visited the old Temple Grove at East Sheen, on 17th June, 1909, and

and so was placed in what was called the little school, which was presided over by the lady teachers, Miss Field and Miss Evatt. My bedroom contained twelve beds, and commanded a view of the pagoda in Kew Gardens. My companions in the bedroom were, two brothers, George and Gilbert Elliot, sons of the Earl of Minto; and two brothers Tuke. The names of the others I forget.

Dr Pinckney was a very skilful administrator of the cane and birch. From the "little school" we used to be sent down to his table, where he held his class in the middle window of the "big school," to hold out a hand, which received one or more cuts with the cane. One punishment for a greater offence was named a "tight breech"; to administer this, the culprit was laid in a position bending over the Doctor's leg, while he pulled his trousers tight with one hand, and applied the cane with the other. For a still greater offence, the boy was laid face downwards across the Doctor's table, when two of the class held each a leg, and two others held each an arm, and the head boy of the class placed a Latin Grammar in his mouth to bite, to relieve his feelings during the operations. On more than one occasion, I assisted at this function. It was no easy matter to hold on to the arm or leg of a wriggling boy undergoing this description of torture.

At this school we had, for breakfast, oblong chunks of bread, about four inches long, one and a half wide, and one inch thick, the first pieces having a smudge of butter on them, the rest being dry. This was washed down by an allowance of milk and water served in a small white basin, without a handle. A few boys, by special request of their parents, were given pure milk, and a few others, tea, in similar basins.

For dinner, there was a pudding, either rice with little milk, very dry, and served in round tin dishes similar to those used for soldiers in barracks, or a doughy sort of pudding, with a few raisins in it, and baked. My share of this, one day, was a lump of mortar, of which I got a mouthful. Then there was a joint of either roast beef or mutton, or sometimes a

found the greater part of the building had been pulled down, and the rest being demolished by a contractor. The ground was covered with piles of old bricks and *débris*, and much cut up with cart ruts. The old iron gates were still standing, but I regarded them with very different feelings than in 1834. The old playground was still intact.

stewed aitchbone of veal. The pudding was served before the meat. The supper was the same as breakfast. Sometimes the boys at one table would have a match with those at the next, to see which could eat the greater number of pieces of bread.

The wife of a schoolmaster, whom I was lately telling how we were fed at this school, said, "If we could feed boys like that now, we *could* make some profit."

"When a boy had game, or, at Michaelmas, a goose sent him, he made out a list of those of his friends he wished to share it with him, and this was handed up, at the dinner hour, to the Doctor, or whoever might be carving for him, at the sideboard. Cake or other goodies sent to the boys had to be delivered up, and a certain quantity for each owner was arranged on a long table, in the "little schoolroom," at four o'clock each day, so long as it lasted. Jam was issued in like manner, spread on bread, at supper time, to those who were lucky enough to possess it.

Dr Pinckney's custom was to come into the hall at supper time, and when we were supposed to have finished, he would give the word "Rise," when all stood up. He would then call out the name of some boy, who would repeat the Lord's Prayer. He would then name another boy, who would repeat an evening hymn. After breakfast the Lord's Prayer and a morning hymn were repeated in the same way.

After supper, Dr Pinckney placed himself leaning against a dresser, at the end of the dining hall, nearest the exit, with one hand extended, which each boy shook as he passed out. Should there be a boy under condemnation to be flogged, the Doctor would stop him and five other boys, as they came up to him, and when all the rest had departed, these six boys were taken to the other end of the hall, to the sideboard where the meat was carved. The culprit was then prepared for punishment by the removal of that portion of his garment that would interfere with it. He was then laid upon the sideboard (a long stout table on four legs), and held, as described for the caning, by the five boys, whilst the doctor vigorously applied the birch.

When the boys came down in the morning, there was, from time to time, a head-washing, carried out by the lady

teachers. This took place in the writing-room, a room intermediate between the big and little schoolrooms. Each boy had his head washed, over a basin of warm soap and water, and then had a spongeful of rosemary and water squeezed over it. I can realize the smell of this, as it trickled down my nose, to this day. There was, in those days, no such thing as washing any other part of the body except the hands, face, and feet, and perhaps the neck and chest. The feet washing was a great ceremony once a fortnight. A large oval tub was placed in the dining-hall, with a long form on one side of it, on which about half a dozen boys would sit at a time, with their feet in the water in the tub. One or two maids would kneel on the opposite side of the tub, and wash the boys' feet with soap.

In the meantime, one of the lady teachers would sit at the end of one of the dinner tables, and one boy at a time, after his feet were washed, would sit on the table, with his feet almost touching her chest, when she would proceed to cut his toe nails.

Every spring, it was the custom to give each boy a dose of sulphur and treacle. For this purpose there was brought into the writing-room, at washing time in the morning, a large basin full of this mixture, and each boy had a dessert-spoonful put into his mouth.

Our boots and shoes were cleaned only twice a week. The clean ones were given out on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, when the dirty ones were taken away to be cleaned.

The walls of the writing-room were papered on canvas, between which and the brick wall there was a space. Here rats used to disport themselves, and Mr Dodd, the writing master, was very expert in spearing them with the leg of a pair of compasses, through the paper and canvas.

A dentist attended every half-year, and each boy was sent in to him, to have his teeth examined, and it was the exception if he did not pull one out, and in those days a dentist appeared to consider it the correct thing to cause as much pain as possible. By instructions from my father, I was exempted from attending the dentist.

Now and then, a more adventurous boy would manage to evade the eye of old John, the man-servant at the lodge, and,

under cover of darkness, break out of bounds, and go to the tuck shop in the village.

Among the boys were Tom Coke (the late Earl of Leicester), and his brothers Edward and Henry. I remember their father, "Old Tom Coke of Norfolk," as he was then called, coming to see them, and my being introduced to him. His second daughter, having married my uncle, Viscount Anson, was my aunt. The last time I saw her was on a Sunday, shortly before her death in 1843, when I assisted her into her carriage when she was leaving our house in Devonshire Place. She married at the age of fifteen.

To please little boys who did not receive many letters from their friends, the Doctor sometimes addressed sham letters to them. No doubt this was kindly meant, but the result was disappointing to the recipient. I know I felt it so when I received one. As I received plenty of letters from home, it was unnecessary to have sent me one.

On the 16th Oct., 1834, I saw, from the school, the light from the burning of the Houses of Parliament.

At the end of my second half-year, at Christmas, I obtained a prize which I still have. It bears, on the inside of the cover, the following inscription: "The gift of the Revd Dr Pinckney to A. Anson for excelling his class in accidentence." The prize was a small book entitled, *Footsteps to the Natural History of Beasts and Birds, Designed for Children*. On arriving at home for the holidays, almost the first thing I did, at tea-time, was to cut my little finger rather badly, when I was immediately chaffed by my eldest brother, for having had a prize, as he said, for accidents. I have the mark of this cut at the present day.

A prize I received on another occasion was an account of the voyage of a Bengal Government civilian and his wife to New Zealand, in 1826, written by the latter. I was too young at the time to take any interest in it, and consequently did not read it, but treasured it carefully. One day, about the year 1873, my attention happened to be drawn to it, and I thought I would see what it was all about. I opened it, and the first thing I saw was that it commenced with a letter, which was dated from Suffolk House, Penang, 16th April, 1826. The very house I was then in, the day on which I was born, and the place of which I was, at the time, Lieutenant-Governor.

In April, 1878, a gentleman was sent to Penang, as Assistant-Superintendent of Police. I invited him to come to see me, and, in course of conversation, I asked him where he had put up while he was at Singapore, where he had been staying for a few weeks, on first arriving in the Colony from England. He said he had been at Prinsep's Hill. Now Prinsep was the name of the lady who wrote the book referred to, and I then told him about it. He said, "That is my aunt, she is now 80 years of age, and well and hearty."

My eldest brother, when at Eton, in a letter he wrote home, in 1825, says :

"Pig Fair was held on Ash Wednesday, we have school and church besides, to keep us out of mischief, and to prevent any quarrels between the Eton fellows and pig drivers, for the custom is to scatter all the pigs, and cut their tails off; which of course the drivers do not like, so Keate gives us school and Church."

On the 21st Oct., 1831, he wrote again from Eton, the following :

"Next Monday Windsor Fair begins. It lasts 3 days. It is the best fun in the world. What with crackers, and swings, and shows of wild beasts; and on Monday evening about 20 minutes past five, you may fancy to yourself Keate snarling away, and in such a rage that he hardly knows what to do, walking to his desk, while every time he puts his foot to the ground off goes a cracker, bang, bang; and the whole time he is threatening to flog the whole school, and a great many other things which we know he won't do."

A few days later my brother wrote that one of the boys was taken up and fined, for hitting one of the stage managers, in the street at Windsor fair, on the nose, which scorched the tip of it sadly. He also mentions that he went into one of the shows, and saw a pickled mermaid, as they called it; but he believed it was only a monkey's head plastered on to the tail of a codfish.

On the 25th Oct., 1833, he says he is selected a member of the debating society of 26 members. The society he describes as having been established for 22 years, five blackballs are fatal. It meets every Saturday. There are a president, vice-president, and chairman. Political subjects are not allowed;

but Whig and Tory factions are rather violent. Tories predominate. Only six Whigs, including himself, who knows very little about it. Two of those are violent Radicals, but very clever fellows. The Honble W. Lyttleton is the best speaker. He goes on to say :

“ Windsor Fair began on Thursday. We had no regular row, but only smashed the windows and damaged the property of a fellow very obnoxious to the school. He values his loss at £100, though there were only about ten panes of glass broken, and a few toys. He came running up into the middle of the upper school, on Friday evening, to complain, to Keate’s great amazement. He is a hairdresser, the most affected of his trade. We received him with a loud laugh, which quite disconcerted him, and he cut off, immediately, to London, to consult a lawyer.”

In continuation of his letter, my brother says :

“ I saw a horse at the fair with seven legs. The three odd ones grew out of two of them, a little below the hocks, on the inside of the hind legs ; and the other on the inside of the near fore leg, just below the knee. They had hoofs, and were shod, but did not touch the ground. The horse was a very handsome bright chestnut, and had an eighth leg beginning to grow.”

On the 1st July, 1834, he writes that he will leave Eton for good in three weeks. He is very sorry to leave, but must leave some time, and might get too fond of it, for he likes it better, and makes more friends, every day. He says there will be a great many alterations made by the next master, Hawtreys. Whether for better or not, time will prove ; “ but I am afraid the school will never look so well as it has done under Keate.”

On the 8th April, 1833, he wrote : “ The doctor here says it is in vain to try to cure the influenza, and that he does not find any thing that affords relief, except time.”

In 1837, my grandfather, father, mother, sisters and myself had the influenza, or as, in joke, it was called at that time, “ Hen-flew-out-of-the-window.” My grandfather remarked (in his diary) that the influenza seemed universal,

and too often fatal, and that he himself coughed as though he had a patent for it. I also learn, from his diary, that in June, 1831, two of my sisters and several maids had influenza, and were "very unwell." It is sometimes thought to have been a much more modern complaint, but I have found mention of it, in a diary, in June, 1782.

My mother died on the 25th of July of this year. She had been attended by Dr Chambers, Dr Merriman, Dr Casswell, and Sir Charles Clarke, the principal medical men of the day. I saw twenty leeches placed on her chest, ten days before her death, and she was blistered the day before she died. In these days an operation would probably have cured her. I was present at her funeral, on the 1st August, in the Catacombs at the Harrow Road Cemetery.

CHAPTER IV

WOOLWICH IN THE 'THIRTIES AND 'FORTIES

(1837-1844)

ON the 7th August, 1837, I went to Mr Miller's school on Woolwich Common, at the corner of Ditch Water Lane, opposite the end of the ha-ha which bounds the barrack field.

To go to Woolwich, there was the choice of three ways. One was by omnibus from the Ship Tavern, Charing Cross, which took three hours; one by river steamer; and one by train to Greenwich, and then on by a one-horse coach, called a *gazebo* by the cadets.

The station for Greenwich was, at that time, at London Bridge, and consisted of only a hut and a turnstile. There was then no other line connected with the Greenwich line. Later the Blackwall and Fenchurch Street Railway, on which the carriages were drawn by ropes, was opened, and Woolwich could be reached by steamer from Blackwall.

I remember, at the time of going to this school, that the street lamp, opposite my bedroom window, on the post at the corner of the common and barrack field, at Woolwich, was a small tin vessel like a sardine tin, without its top, full of whale oil and with a loose cotton wick at each end.

Miller's school was one of the only two preparatory schools for Woolwich, Sandhurst, and Addiscombe, that then existed. The other was kept by a Mr Barry, near the Woolwich Dockyard.

The Rifle Brigade was quartered at Woolwich at this time, and I used to see them drilling on the Barrack Field, and hear the colonel swearing loudly and lustily at his men. They were armed with the rifle that carried the belted ball, the only rifle then in the service.

I was, at one time, in a little two-bedded room with

Leopold Grimston Paget (the son of Berkeley Paget, brother of the Marquis of Anglesey), and afterwards with Charles Smith, both of whom were afterwards in the artillery. Smith's mother, the widow of a captain R.A., used to have us both out, while at Miller's, and afterwards while at the Royal Military Academy, to spend Sunday at her house at Charlton, and gave us champagne, liqueurs, and all sorts of luxuries at dinner. She also hired horses for us, and we used to ride about the country in our cadet's uniform. I rode past the Horse Guards one day, on my way to my father's in Devonshire Place, and the sentry did not know what to make of me.

Paget was afterwards second of the room I was in when I joined the Royal Military Academy. In 1892 he came to see me at St Leonards, when he was greatly exhausted with a longer walk than he had anticipated, and died about ten days after.

One night it was determined by the older boys to bar the schoolroom door against the masters. What object they anticipated gaining by it, I do not know. However, the idea was carried out, and one of the long desks was drawn up with its end against the door. Of course, we had to capitulate after a short resistance, and the result was that we had a long and stiff paper of algebraic questions given us to work out, and were kept in during play hours until we had completed it. Two boys, Reilly and Newton, attempted to defend themselves, and to attack Miller, when he was about to cane them. He seized them, one after the other, by the collar, and thrashed them unmercifully, all over the body, with the cane. He was a strongly built man, and no boy had any chance with him.

Walter Hughes, the youngest brother of *Tom Brown*, was my chum at this school, and I spent some part of more than one of my holidays at his father's, Donnington Priory, near Newbury. His sister, a little younger than we were, became Mrs Nassau, Senior. Walter and I arranged, at the age of twelve, that I was to marry his sister, and he was to marry my twin sister; and we each, of our respective idols, obtained surreptitiously a lock of hair. It was nothing to us that neither of the young ladies was in the least aware of this arrangement.

Tom Hughes was at this time at Rugby. He used to bully Walter and me, when at home for the holidays. His eldest brother, George, was a nice, quiet, gentlemanly fellow. His father was a literary man, very amusing, and very good company, and very kind to me.

When staying there on one occasion, I was taken over to see Highclere, and there I saw, but was not introduced to, Lord Porchester, a lad, sitting in a window in the library reading. Years after, as Lord Carnarvon and Secretary of State for the Colonies, he was my chief, and it fell to his lot to give me an appointment.

My eldest brother obtained his commission in the Royal Horse Guards (the Blues), on the 1st May, 1835, for which my grandfather paid £1200.

I went, on the 29th May, 1837, to the Earl of Lichfield's (then Postmaster-General), to see the mail coaches paraded through St James's Square. The coachmen and guards had on their new scarlet-and-gold liveries, and the horses their new harness. The guards played on their horns as they passed by. The coaches then dispersed to their several destinations. It was a very attractive sight.

On my eldest brother's birthday, 26th Dec., 1837, we drank his health in punch made from a bottle of arrack that had been round the world with Admiral Lord Anson, in 1744.

On March 1st, 1838, we left Grundisburgh Hall, and in June went to live at Bill Hill, near Wokingham, Berks. "Bill Hill" was rented from Mr Leveson Gower.

At that time there was no railway, and I had to go to and from school by coach, which sometimes went through Eton, and sometimes through Windsor Park. I went by railway as far as Slough, soon after, when the "Great Western" was opened to that place, and then on by coach to Wokingham. When we arrived at Slough, the passengers went and gaped at the engine, and felt proud if the driver condescended to answer their questions.

On the 21st April, 1838, my cousin Frederica, Lord Anson's daughter, married Bouverie Primrose, a son of the Earl of Rosebery.

In my sister's diary I find the following :

"Lord Rosebery, speaking of the Queen, said she seemed particularly cheerful, and laughed most heartily (not the mere laugh of society) whenever her fancy was tickled, which it was very much at the idea of the odd sort of connection there would be between Bouverie Primrose and Lady Rosebery when he married her sister."

The Earl of Rosebery and his son married two sisters, the daughters of Lord Anson. There were twenty years between the ages of the sisters.

I witnessed the coronation procession of Queen Victoria, on the 28th June, 1838, from the balcony of Lord Rosebery's house, 134, Piccadilly; and saw the ascent of the balloon, which took place in the Green Park, almost opposite. The balloon came down in Marylebone Lane, and did some little damage to a house. One of the interesting sights in the procession was the carriage of Marshal Soult, which was sky blue, with silver ornaments. The Marshal, whilst in London, called on my father, as one of the generals who had been opposed to him in the Peninsular War.

In Feb., 1840, I was present at the Bull Inn, on Shooters Hill, on the arrival there of Prince Albert, when on his way from Dover to London to be married to the Queen. He arrived in an ordinary post-chaise, but exchanged into one of the Royal carriages which had been sent there to meet him. There were not many people present, but he was presented with an address from the people of Woolwich.

On the 8th May, 1840, we left Bill Hill; and, on the 8th August, went to Mistley Hall, near Manningtree, Essex, which was the property of Lord Rivers. This house, on the recommendation of the famous auctioneer, George Robins, was pulled down, after we left it, in 1845, and the land was sold in lots. A handsome church has since been built in the park, in place of the very peculiar former church on the road-side, which consisted of a centre and two towers. The centre has been removed, and the two towers, which furnish a landmark to vessels sailing up the river Stour, have been left.

In 1840, my second brother, William, was appointed to H.M.S. *Iris*, under orders to go to the China station, but the ship was sent instead to the West Coast of Africa, to hunt after slavers. When being employed for long periods in an open

boat, with a crew of natives, up the rivers, and along the coast of Sierra Leone, he caught fever, and died. He was buried on the island of St Thomas, on the 4th Nov., 1841.

There was a great deal of poaching on the Mistle property, and the ringing of the bell for the servants' supper at eight o'clock had to be dispensed with, as it was taken by the poachers as a signal to commence to shoot the pheasants roosted on the trees. As many as ten of our servants used to go out, wearing beehive hats (made of straw, exactly like beehives), and armed with sticks, to catch these poachers, who were generally about ten in number.

There was a man with a wooden leg, employed on the roads to break stones, who was a friend of the poachers, and was believed to do a little poaching also. One night he undertook to show our men where they would find the poachers. It was then found that this poor lame man, who excited so much pity on account of his infirmity, could go over hedges and ditches and across country faster than any of his companions, who found it difficult to keep up with him.

Four poachers, who were caught on one occasion, were transported, and were drowned on board the *Waterloo* transport, in Table Bay, in 1842.

One of our grooms, out exercising a horse, stopped at a public-house about three miles from us, early one morning, and found a number of men there with sacks. Out of these sacks they emptied a number of pheasants, and told him to choose his own.

When at home I sometimes accompanied these expeditions after poachers. There was no one who preserved game nearer than nine miles from us, except a titled gentleman, of doubtful reputation, whose keeper had the credit of supplying his master with game from the preserves of his neighbours.

On the 11th May, 1841, I went up for my examination for a cadetship, at the Royal Military Academy, at Woolwich, and I joined the Academy on the 2nd August.

The head of the room I was posted to was Arthur Webster, the son of Sir Godfrey Webster, of Battle Abbey. He was 6 feet 3 inches in height.

On joining, I was drilled with old "Brown Bess" with a flint lock. We were afterwards served out with percussion

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carbines, being the first to be supplied by the Government with arms with percussion locks. We were also exercised with three-pounder brass guns, which were parked in front of the middle of the Academy building, opposite the library. Later on we were also the first to be supplied with the new shako introduced by Prince Albert, and named after him, "Prince Albert's flower-pot." It was straight up and down.

We were not fed sumptuously in those days. A half-quartern loaf, cut through into four equal parallel parts, and a small piece of butter, divided into four equal parts, for each squad of four, was our ration for breakfast; and we had the same for supper. The two seniors took the crusty outside pieces of the loaf, and left the soft inside pieces, or soft "Tommy," as it was called, for the two juniors.

For dinner there was a joint of mutton or beef, except on Tuesdays, when there was a meat pie. On Tuesdays there was also a fruit pie, and on Sundays a plum-pudding. We were not allowed to take anything to the hall at meals, and if caught doing so, we were punished with extra drill or confinement to barracks. But we did manage sometimes to smuggle in things, such as jam or better-class tea, etc. This was generally managed at the parade by the rear rank cadet having charge of the article while the officer was inspecting the front rank, and then its being handed to the front rank cadet while the rear rank was being inspected. For want of anything better, we used to pour our "swipes" (very small beer) over our plum-pudding on Sundays. Potatoes, in their skins, were also smuggled away from dinner, and put into the ashes of the barrack-room to bake for supper.

There was a good deal of bullying carried on at the Academy. The windows of the bedrooms had diagonal iron gratings to them; and one system of bullying was to make a "neux" (a fag or young cadet) place his arms through two of the spaces in the grating, and his legs through two others, in a naked state, and then the "old cadets" flipped him with towels.

Another system was for four "old cadets" to stand, one at each corner of a bedroom, with their "Joe bags" (dirty clothes bags), made into bundles at the bottom, and, holding the empty ends drawn together in their hands, whack at the back of the

legs of a "young cadet," as he ran round the table which stood in the middle of the room, and try to knock him down upon his knees. A "young cadet" offending an "old cadet" would be told, by the latter, to come to his room with a stick at some specified time. Should he fail to do so, he would get a worse thrashing than he would have had he obeyed the order.

There was a man who came once a week from Greenwich with cakes, tartlets, and other good things, in a cart, which he placed just outside the gates of the enclosure, in front of the Academy. I was once sent down by an "old cadet" to this cart, to get a pork-pie. There was not one to be had, but I got a thrashing for not getting one. That cadet became one of the originators of the Army and Navy Stores.

One cold night I and another "young cadet" were ordered to strip naked. We were then marked all over, to represent tattooed American Indians, and made to walk out on the stones from the third division, along the front of the building, to the three-pounder guns. There each had to take one of the hand-spikes as a club, and go into the library, and dance an Indian war dance. We were then allowed to put on our shirts, and go back to our rooms.

There was another system of bullying, which was carried out after the lights were put out at night. It was making a young cadet stand on the feet of the two diagonal legs of a barrack stool, turned upside down, placed on the barrack-room table, and then make an ode to the moon. It was a very difficult operation to balance on the legs of the stool, and many nasty falls were experienced in trying to do it. But when successful, and in the midst of the ode, which seldom got beyond "O Moon ! Moon !" the stool was suddenly pulled away, and a painful, not to say dangerous, fall on the table was the consequence. •

Horn Fair was held yearly, at Charlton, and one amusement of the cadets was to march through the fair in line, armed with their belts, and clear away every one before them.

One half-year, I was third in a room the head of which was Hamley, afterwards Sir Edward, famous for his works on military matters, and his difference with Lord Wolseley in Egypt. The second of the room was Arbuthnot, afterwards

Sir Charles, who became Deputy Adjutant-General of Artillery and Commander-in-Chief in Bombay and Madras.

Hamley was a caricaturist, and one day, during studies, Colonel Jones, R.A., Inspector of Studies, came round quietly and, unnoticed by Hamley, stood behind his desk, and looking over his shoulder saw he had just drawn a caricature of Sir George Whitmore, the Governor of the Academy. For doing this in study, Hamley was punished, but the sketch found its way to the Governor, and a place in his portfolio.

On my first joining the Academy, the corporal on duty in the fourth class-room, was Yelverton, afterwards, when in the artillery, famous for the trial in connection with his Scotch marriage.

At the time I was examined for my cadetship, the Master-General of the Ordnance had, it was said with the view of obtaining votes at an election, granted too many cadetships, and, to reduce the number, a probationary examination was held at the end of the first half-year ; when several cadets who could not pass it were removed from the Academy. One of these was the eldest son of the Admiral in command of the Mediterranean Fleet, and another, a son of a publisher in Piccadilly.

The cadets had, from time to time, to carry on practice from the howitzers and mortars at the gun park, at the end of the Artillery Barracks, at a flagstaff on the common. Unobserved by the officer in charge, they would increase the charge of one mortar by contributing a portion of the powder intended for some of the others, with the result that the shell from that mortar would go a long way up the Common, while most of the others fell short.

We were allowed leave on Saturdays and Sundays, to visit our relations or friends, but it was necessary, in order to procure it, to produce to the lieutenant of the cadet company on duty at the breakfast hour, on Saturday, an invitation from the relation or friend to whom we were supposed to be going. My sister used to supply me with these invitations, and I then went to our house in London. The old woman in charge of the house when the family were out of town provided my breakfast for me in the pantry, cooking it on the fire in that room in my presence. Our old servants, at the First Lord of

the Treasury's Office in Downing Street, supplied me, most hospitably, with an excellent dinner and supper.

On returning on Sunday night, I frequently called for a brother cadet, Gage, at his father's (Admiral Lord Gage), at the back of Parliament Street, and we returned to Woolwich together; by omnibus from Northumberland House, at the corner of the Strand, to London Bridge; by rail to Greenwich; and then on, by a one-horse coach, to Bowling Green Row, near the dockyard at Woolwich. From there, carrying our handbags, we walked up to the Academy. On one such occasion, when we reached the gun park, the sentry there challenged us with "Wha goes there?" to which Gage made a very improper reply, with the result that the sentry received us with his musket and bayonet at the charge. He then called out "File of the guard," which was repeated from sentry to sentry at the barracks. Presently a file of the guard, under a corporal, came and marched us off to the guardroom, where we were detained until the lieutenant returned from going his rounds. He then, after giving us a wiggling, released us, and we managed to reach the Academy just in time not to be reported for being late. Gage became Commandant of Woolwich in 1881.

During one half-year Gage sat at the next desk to me, in the second class-room; and we sometimes raised the lids of our desks, and with our heads under them, surreptitiously held a conversation. On these occasions, I would tell him something amusing, of which he would take no notice, but the following day, about the same hour, he would begin to laugh, and when I asked him what he was laughing at, he would reply, "what you said yesterday."

The cadets attended lectures, in the lecture-room, at the Academy. The chemistry lecturer was Professor Faraday. He was a very interesting lecturer. He was assisted by Mr Marsh, chemist at the Royal Arsenal, and the discoverer of the test for arsenic.

Professor Christie lectured on mechanics. As a lecturer he was not to be compared with Faraday, and as, somehow, in most of his experiments there was, as he said, "A little too much friction," they did not come off satisfactorily, and we did not greatly appreciate them.

On Sundays the cadets attended the service at the chapel at the Artillery Barracks, and, in summer, joined the artillery parade on the Barrack Field, and marched past, as the two first divisions, in front of the regiment. On these occasions they wore white trousers.

When marching down to the chapel we were accosted by street boys with "Pussy, pussy, where's your tail?" the cadets having formerly worn pigtails. In the afternoon, we were again marched to the chapel at three o'clock. At this service it was customary for some of the old cadets to lie down and go to sleep behind the forms, making the juniors sit up and hide them.

In the summer of 1841, I accompanied my father and my cousin, Lady Waterpark, in a Thames steamer, to Sheerness, to stay with the Port Admiral Sir Henry Digby and his wife, Lady Andover, whose sister, the Dowager Lady Anson, was also staying there. Lady Anson was the mother of the Earl of Lichfield, General Anson (the Commander-in-Chief in India at the time of the breaking out of the Mutiny), Lady Rosebery, Lady Waterpark, Mrs Bouverie Primrose, and Mrs Charles Murray (afterwards Mrs Isted). Lady Andover was the mother of the Lady Ellenborough who married the Arab Sheik, and lived with him in the desert.

While staying with the Admiral, I accompanied him, in the Admiralty yacht, to meet the King of the Belgians at the Nore, and, on the following day, I accompanied him in the yacht to Woolwich, and witnessed the launch of the 120-gun ship *Trafalgar*, whose ribs, and those of the *Boscawen*, 70 guns, I had frequently run over, while they were building, in sheds alongside one another, in the dockyard.

On the 27th July, 1842, my eldest brother, John William Hamilton, married the daughter of the late Major-General Sir Denis Pack, K.C.B., and Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the Marquess of Waterford. Sir Denis Pack had the greatest collection of Orders and medals of any officer, with only one exception, Lord Beresford, who was Marshal commanding the Portuguese during the Peninsular War.

On the 19th Dec., 1843, I was examined, with others, for promotion to the practical class, which carried on its studies at the Royal Arsenal. Among those examined were Clarke, who went by the name of "Spicy Andrew" (afterwards Sir

Andrew, R.E., G.C.M.G.), and Enderby Gordon (afterwards General, R.A.), brother of the famous General Gordon. Gordon came out next below me, and, curiously enough, he had sat at the next desk to mine during one half-year.

I joined, with nineteen others, the practical class, at the Royal Arsenal, on the 31st Jan., 1844, and went through the course of instruction in the different manufacturing departments in the Arsenal, and attended the riding school at the Artillery Barracks.

In the June following, we were examined before a board of General and other superior officers of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, for commissions in these ordnance corps. Fifteen were afterwards gazetted to the Artillery, and five to the Engineers.

At that examination, I was presented with a sword, bearing my name and the inscription "For exemplary conduct whilst at the institution." I had at the time the rank of under-officer, and wore five good conduct stripes on my arm.

I joined the Royal Artillery, at Woolwich, on the 18th August, 1844; and a few days afterwards I, and the rest of my batch, were ordered to be presented to, and inspected, in full dress, by the Commandant of the Garrison, Lord Bloomfield. He took the occasion to urge upon us the desirability of joining the "Marriage Society." This we agreed to, as we believed that should we refuse, we should be sent to some unpleasant station.

I and some others were invited shortly after to dine at Lord Bloomfield's, at the Commandant's house in the Royal Arsenal. Of course this was a full-dress affair, and we had to appear with our swords on. Then Lady Bloomfield told us that it was a privilege granted to her by her husband, to give us leave to take off our swords. Lord Bloomfield had been very friendly with King George IV, and was in the habit of playing the violin to him.

There were, in those days, two officers' guards, one a subaltern's guard, at the Artillery Barracks, and the other a captain and subaltern's guard, at the Royal Arsenal. At the Arsenal guard, there was a sitting-room and two small bedrooms. The officers were not supposed to go to bed, but after the colonel on duty for the day had visited the guard, the

captain went round his sentries, and then turned in, giving instructions to his subaltern to visit the sentries, generally, about three o'clock in the morning, after which he turned in.

The subaltern on guard (Chermside) on one occasion paid off the captain for ordering him to go his rounds at that unpleasant hour, by going to his room on his return, knocking him up, and then informing him that all was well, and that there was nothing to report. The captain grumbled, under the bedclothes, "You might have kept that until the morning."

One terribly bitter, cold, and very dark morning, with a hard frost, and a strong wind blowing across the marshes, I had to visit the sentries in the Arsenal at three o'clock. It was so dark, and the corporal's lantern gave so little light, that I was continually stumbling over something, and my regimental cloak caught the wind and made it difficult to get along. I got so cold and exhausted that I gave up the attempt to visit the sentry the farthest away from the guardroom, and near the marshes. When my servant called me in the morning he said, "That was a sad business, sir, last night." I felt anxious, and asked him what he referred to. He said, "The sentry who drowned himself." I jumped up pretty quickly, and my mind was not relieved until I had ascertained that it was not the sentry I had neglected to visit. It was a sentry of the relief after my visit. Cold as the night was, he took off all his things, and walked into the canal. It was a caution to me not to shirk a duty in future, under any circumstance.

While I was at Woolwich I was present, on duty, at a punishment parade, which took place in the Riding School at the Artillery Barracks. A gunner had been sentenced to 200 lashes. The men were drawn up along three sides of the Riding School. At the fourth side was the triangle, to which the man was lashed, and in rear of that were the Commanding Officer and his staff. The drum-major stood on one side of the triangle, and gave the word of command, one, two, three, etc., for the drummer to apply each stoke of the cat-o'-nine-tails. After each 25 strokes a fresh drummer took up the duty, and gave the strokes, across, in the opposite direction from the last ones. It was a very distressing sight, and several of the men in the ranks fainted and fell with their muskets on

the ground. At the end of the ceremony the man was marched off to the hospital.

I was also, on another occasion, on duty at a drumming out parade, when a gunner was drummed out of the service. The men were paraded in two ranks facing one another, about two yards apart. The prisoner was brought to the head of the parade, and his crime, and the sentence of the court-martial, were read out; he was then marched down the line a short distance, under a guard, with the drums and pipes behind him playing the *Rogue's March*. This action was carried out at short intervals until the end of the line was reached, when his buttons and facings were cut off his coat, and he was turned off and dismissed the service.

I was also present at a parade when a man was marked with the letter D, for desertion. This operation was performed under the man's shoulder-blade. The place was rubbed with a little moistened gunpowder, and then a machine, similar to that used for cupping, but furnished with blades in the form of the letter D, was applied and that letter cut into the flesh.

CHAPTER V

EARLY MILITARY EXPERIENCES

(1844-1847)

IN Nov., 1844, I was sent to the Hulme Barracks, at Manchester. There I joined a demi-battery, consisting of two guns and a waggon. With this equipment it was impossible to carry out any manœuvres. There were two 24-pounder howitzers in the gun shed, supposed to be there in case of riots, but there were not horses enough to horse them. The horses were a miserable lot, and the harness was a match for them. There were there, at that time, Captain and Brevet-Major Vaughan Arbuckle, commanding the company, and a second captain, and, in general, not more than three officers with the company at a time.

There was a cavalry regiment there, the 5th Dragoon Guards, commanded by Colonel Yorke Scarlett, but, although honorary members of their mess, it was too expensive for us, so we messed each in his own room.

We had a great field-day at Kersal Moor, under command of the General from York, soon after I joined the demi-battery. After walking past and trotting past, nothing would satisfy my captain, who was about 54 years of age, but that we should act as horse artillery, and gallop past in front of the cavalry. This we did with the waggon between the two guns. Just as we got in line with the General, one of the horses of the waggon got his leg over the trace, and this necessitated a general halt. The General was so annoyed that he ordered the Major to remain, and get the waggon righted, and sent me on with the guns. The riding master of the calvary said, "D—n that artillery. Just as our men had got their horses well in hand they stopped the whole thing."

Towards the end of the field-day the whole of the troops



LIEUTENANT ANSON, R.A., 1846.

Yellowlees.

[Facing p. 66.]

were formed up in close column: the infantry in front, the cavalry in rear of them, and the artillery in rear of them again. A cavalry officer made the remark, "I suppose the cavalry are to charge the infantry, and the artillery to fire into the cavalry."

There was a golf club, the only one in England besides that at Blackheath, I believe, at that time, at Kersal Moor, near Manchester, and at its meetings there was a sort of picnic early dinner, to which each member brought the provisions for himself and his invited friends. I went there as the guest of Mr Malcolm Ross, who was afterwards Mayor of Manchester. He had a house in the country, to which I was frequently invited. On one occasion I found I should be rather late for his early dinner, so ventured to try a short cut, which necessitated my crossing a very narrow wooden bridge, close to a blue dye works. Beneath the bridge, the stream, which had high banks, contained steaming blue water from the factory. My battery horse, which I was riding, went wide with his hind legs, so I dismounted, and, standing in front of him, led him on to the bridge; but one of his hind feet missed the bridge, and he fell backwards into the stream, and it was with great difficulty I could haul him out again, and then he, the saddle, and girths, were more or less blue.

While at Manchester, I attended the first Free Trade meeting, in the Free Trade Hall, at which Cobden was present and spoke. It was a very large meeting, and after the business of the meeting was over, a band struck up, and the men and women present danced. I had been seated on the platform during the speeches, but went down to the floor of the hall and joined the dancers. It was a most amusing sight. The dresses of the fair sex were a wonderful mixture of colours. The polka had lately been introduced, and the band played the tune that went by the name of *Pen and ink and paper*. The movement of the dance was two steps, and a kick up behind with one foot. A few days after, I attended a bazaar at which Mrs Cobden, a nice-looking, pleasant little woman, held a stall. I accompanied there Tom Potter (afterwards member for Oldham), who made large purchases of children's clothes, for his mother's school children, from Mrs Cobden's stall, in support of the funds for the promotion of Free Trade.

Cobden anticipated that all foreign countries would adopt Free Trade, and went abroad to try to induce them to do so, but failed. Whether it was part of Cobden's Free Trade policy not to pay his rent, I am not aware, but he was my brother's tenant, and did not pay his rent.

An officer of a cavalry regiment was sitting next to John Bright at dinner, in Manchester, when Bright remarked on the high rates of pay of the officers of the army. The officer replied, "My father paid £4575 for his commissions, and died, and I have paid the same amount for my commissions, making together the sum of £9150." He asked Bright whether he considered, under these conditions, he was overpaid. His pay was £851 per annum.

I was promoted to first lieutenant on the 1st April, 1846, and spent a short time in London, on leave. I was then a member of the Army and Navy Club, which at that time occupied Lord Lichfield's house in the angle of St James's Square. The present club house was being built, and, thinking I should like to inspect it before leaving England, I went to see it, but was refused admittance. I was annoyed at this, and, as I might remain on foreign service for some years, I did not see the use of continuing to be a member of the Club, and took my name off the list of its members. This, as things have turned out, I have never had cause to regret.

On being ordered to be quartered at Malta, I proceeded there on the 20th May, on board the P. and O. paddle steamer *Achilles*, which reached Gibraltar on the 27th. I landed there, and visited the galleries in the rock, St Michael's cave, etc., under the chaperonage of my brother officers quartered there. We passed within three miles of Algiers. Up to that voyage, the passengers of the P. and O. steamers had been allowed to land there, but this had been put a stop to, on account of their objectionable behaviour.

I arrived at Malta on the 2nd June, or twelve days from Southampton. The old *Oriental*, a paddler, the largest of the P. and O. steamers at that time, did the voyage, regularly, in ten days.

On landing, I went to see my captain, Brevet-Major James, who at that time was living in a house in the Cathedral Square. There I met Lieutenant Douglas Galton, R.E.

(afterwards Sir Douglas, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.), who also had a house there. The Governor at that time was Sir Patrick Stuart, and the Admiral in command of the Fleet, Sir William Parker. The Port Admiral was Sir Lucius Curtis. Sir William Parker was away with the Fleet, but I received much kindness from Lady Parker, her sister (Miss Biddulph), and her daughters. The youngest daughter was known as *British Jack*, because she had expressed her indignation to some naval officers who did not know how the *Union Jack* was formed of the crosses of St George, St Andrew, and St Patrick.

My captain was fifty-four years of age, having been eighteen years a subaltern before he became second captain; and then, nine years before he became first captain; six years after that, in 1846, he was promoted to brevet major. He had been at the battles of Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelles and Orthes; and in the Canadian campaign, at Lake Erie. He was a very shrivelled and dried-up-looking man, and wore a peculiar forage cap, with a prominent peak. Although a bachelor, he lived out of barracks. He used to say that, when he met the young officers of the other regiments in the street, they were very polite, and said, "Good morning, Major James," and that he replied, "Good morning to you." Now, the streets of Valetta are all at right-angles to one another, and these officers, after having saluted the Major, as stated by him, would slip down a side street, and come back into the main street, in front of the Major, and salute him again, so that it was the same officer who saluted him two or three times over, on each occasion. He had a little lame dog, which went on three legs. This animal he had picked up somewhere, and taken charge of, out of compassion. As he walked along, he continually turned round and tapped the ground with his stick, and said, "Come along, doggie!" This led to his obtaining the sobriquet of "Jimmie and Doggie."

Lieutenant Waghorn, who established the overland route across the desert to India, with whom I made acquaintance, was also there. The idea of the Red Sea route was originally proposed by Major Charles Head in 1833. In recognition of this, the Government, in 1909, bestowed a pension on his daughters. It can hardly be credited now, that there was the strongest opposition on the part of the East India Company

to shortening the communication with India, but the proposal met with the support of King William, and, in 1837, with the approval of Queen Victoria.

The Prince of Capua, brother of the King of Naples, who, having married in 1886 an Irish lady, Miss Smyth, was not allowed to reside with her in his own country, had a house at Sliema. Miss Smyth was the daughter of Mr Grice Smyth, of Ballynatray, Co. Waterford.

Bishop Gobat, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, was staying at Malta. With him, Captain Gostling, R.A., and Captain Gardner, R.A., I was photographed at Sliema, by Mr Talbot, the inventor of the Talbot-type process. Strangely enough, the wall at our back came out the colour of the stone. I regret that in my wanderings I lost this photograph.

A brother officer of mine became friendly with one of the priests at Valetta, and they went together to a festival at Citta Vecchia, and there the priest put Indian red into the holy water, at the entrance to the Cathedral, so that those making the sign of the cross with it produced a red mark on their foreheads.

In December, 1846, I obtained leave, in order to visit Sicily and Italy. I had a soldier servant, named Peter Higgins, whom my brother officers nicknamed Heter Piggins. When I told him where I was going, he endeavoured to dissuade me from doing so, saying it was a waste of money to go and visit a parcel of stocks and stones. However, I did not follow his advice, and left, on board a Neapolitan steamer, on the 12th of the month, in company with Lieutenant Essex Grant, 42nd Regiment (son of the Earl of Seafield), who was going to join his father at Naples. Wedderburn, Orde, and Drummond, of the 42nd, were also on board, on their way to Syracuse, to shoot.

There was no English steamer on that line, and the accommodation on board the *Mongibello* was very indifferent. The captain was a Neapolitan, and a very civil man. He invited me to his cabin at night, and I sat and aired my newly acquired Italian with him, over rum and water with which he entertained me; until midnight.

We spent the next day at Syracuse, where we were turned ashore for our breakfast, which we had at the only hotel, the

Sol, a miserable little place. I visited Dionysius's Ear, the Temple of Minerva, and the tomb of Archimedes. The following morning we left for Catania, and arrived there at 4 p.m. We were again turned ashore for dinner; and I dined at the Crown, with Grant and our fellow passenger, Mr Grimshaw (a Belfast banker), and his two daughters, one a widow. The following morning we were at Messina, where we were turned ashore again for breakfast. No meals were provided on board, if it could be avoided. We breakfasted at the Victoria Locanda, and then drove in a carriage, three horses abreast, up the mountain road at the back of the town, from which we had a fine view of Stromboli, the Lipari Islands, and the coast of Calabria. We dined at the table-d'hôte, at five o'clock, and I sat next to the Baron von Pabst (a German), and had tea with the Grimshaws in their private sitting-room.

We slept on board, and left early in the morning for Naples. We got as far as St Giovanni, on the opposite side of the Straits, when it came on to blow, and we put back to Messina, where we arrived breakfastless at about twelve o'clock, and were sent ashore for breakfast. We left again early the following morning, passed Charybdis and Scylla, nearly went ashore off St Giovanni, and stopped at Pizzo. There the sea was rough.

In company with Lady Seafield, her sister, and Grant, I drove to Portici, where we hired horses to ride to the foot of Vesuvius, and guides for the ascent. There was a grand eruption going on. The mountain was shrouded in mist, and as we walked up (Lady Seafield was carried in a chair), we heard very loud explosions, and the noise of the rolling down of large pieces of cooling lava near us. These fragments of falling lava took the course of the usual path up the mountain, and prevented us from ascending by it. The mist cleared soon after we had reached the top of the outer cone, and then we saw a river of molten lava, surrounding the base of the inner cone, from a gap in the edge of which large masses broke off, and rolled down the mountain. At night these red-hot masses could be seen from Naples. We went to the foot of the inner cone, where there was a mass of sulphur, the smell of which was very suffocating. There was an opening in the inner cone, about three feet wide, and twenty feet high, through which

we could see the heaving of the fire inside it. At short intervals explosions from the top of the cone took place, and stones and ashes, with sulphur, were thrown up to a considerable height, and fell in showers on to the sides and base of the inner cone. It was a very grand sight.

At Rome I put up at the Hotel Greco, and had my meals at the flat of a friend, and his carriage, in the morning, to visit all the places of interest in Rome. My cousin Lord Lichfield, with his wife and daughter, Lady Harriet Anson, were in Rome, and I went with them to a ball at Lady Cunningham's, where Lady Sarah Hay and Lady Harriet were the belles of the ball. I overheard the Italian gentlemen talking about "De Ladie Sara Ay, and De Ladie Harryyet Aunson"

I also went to a ball at Prince Torlonia's, at the Villa Pamfili Doria, where I met our old Berkshire friends and neighbours, Lady and Miss Malcolm. I was walking round the ballroom, when I heard a voice I could not mistake, and, looking in the direction of it, I saw, on one of the raised forms, Miss Olympia Malcolm, who afterwards, as before mentioned, married the German diplomatist, Baron Usedom.

Driving out one afternoon on the road to Florence, the carriage suddenly stopped, and the courier got down from the box, and requested me to get out, telling me the Pope was coming. I got out, and presently the Pope came by in his carriage, with an escort of cavalry. I took off my hat, and received his blessing as he passed. He had been to see a model farm, but, when he got near it, the road was too bad for his carriage; he therefore dismounted one of his escort, and mounted his horse, which, frightened by the Pope's loose yellow garment, went off at a gallop, and I was told afterwards, that the Pope had said that he had enjoyed his ride immensely.

I saw, while in Rome, the horses pass by on their way to be blessed by the Pope, many in smart four-in-hand carriages and gaily decorated.

While at Rome I visited the usual sights, viz : the Vatican; the Pantheon; the churches of St Maria Maggiore and St John Lateran; St Sebastiano, where is the stone on which our Saviour is said to have stood; the church of St. Andrea di Valle, near which was the building in which it was said that

Cæsar was killed; the Catacombs; the place where St John was said to have been boiled in oil; the tomb of Cecilia Metella; the sacred Scala; the Coliseum; the baths of Caracalla and Titus; the Capitol, where I saw the statue of the dying gladiator; the gardens of the Villa Pamfili Doria; the Museum at Villa Borghese, Monte Pincio; the Rospigliosi, etc., etc.

I left Rome the 22nd Jan. at eight o'clock in the morning, by diligence, for Naples. We passed through Capua, and, after a very fatiguing journey, with much jolting and jogging, bad food and no sleep, reached Naples, after thirty-two hours, at four p.m. At seven o'clock in the evening, I left Naples on board the steamer *Tiger*, the first British steamer placed on the line between Naples and Malta. We touched at Messina, and remained there two hours, but were not allowed to land, and reached Malta in 39½ hours.

I had a pet gazelle which was very tame, and went about loose in the barrack square, at St Elmo. The men and drummer boys used to play with it, and encourage it to butt at them. In this way, it one day tore the clothes of the private servant (a "rock scorpion" as the Gibraltar native was called) of an officer of the Royal Engineers. This man came to me and demanded payment for the damage done, and as I declined to make any, he summoned me before the police court. I went to the court accompanied by my witnesses, a soldier servant's wife and a drummer boy. The magistrate declined to hear the case, as it was not a criminal one, and so the matter ended. I brought the gazelle to England, and gave it to a friend at Avisford, in Sussex, but it did not live long.

At a mess meeting of the artillery, at St Elmo, there was a proposition that the ladies of the regiment should dine at the mess on the first Monday in each month. This was about to be agreed to, when Major Gostling moved the amendment, "except it should fall on a Sunday," at which, of course, there was a roar of laughter.

The mess was divided into two dinner hours; the older members dining at 3 p.m., and the rest at 8 p.m. The messing was very good and very cheap—1s. 8d. per day for dinner. I think meat was then about twopence per lb.

A newly arrived Chief Medical Officer joined our mess. He

was a squeaky-voiced, irritable, undersized, individual. I had, before his arrival, stabled one of my horses in the General Hospital stables (which were unoccupied), near St Elmo, but on the arrival of this Chief Medical Officer, it was very unceremoniously turned out by him. There was a story that this officer had ordered that, should he die, he was to be buried just as he was, in his clothes, and that on one occasion, he, being in a trance, was placed in his coffin, but that his pet dog, having got into the coffin and sat on his chest, he had come round again. However, when he eventually died, it was discovered that he was not a "he," but a "she."

The mails between Malta and Marseilles, and between Malta and the Ionian Islands, were conveyed by two of H.M. gunboats, which had very poor accommodation for passengers. I accompanied two ladies on board one, about to proceed to Marseilles, to see the accommodation they would have, and found it very poor. The service was carried on in this way: the gunboat from Marseilles would, on its next voyage, go to Corfu; and the one from Corfu, to Marseilles, and so on.

It was customary, in those days, for our own men-of-war to salute on entering the harbour, and for Fort St Angelo to return the salute. I was sent on one occasion to St Angelo to return the salute of H.M.S. *Terrible*, the largest steamer in the service at that time. She was an iron paddle-wheel vessel, and had come to Malta for 8000 bags of biscuit for Gibraltar, as there was some scare about war. The steamer lay close to St Angelo, and I looked right over her deck as I fired the salute.

H.M.S. *Sidon* came into harbour whilst I was there. She was called a Symonite, being constructed on the lines planned by Captain Symons, and was commanded by Captain Symons, his son.

During the season of the migration of quail, numbers of them flew against the lighthouse at St Elmo, and, falling down, were picked up in the morning by the lighthouse keeper, from whom we obtained them.

The races at Malta were run on the high-road to Sliema, along the edge of the quarantine harbour. Captain Campbell, of the 42nd regiment, owned a horse named "The Wandering Boy," because he used to run it, not only at Malta, but at the races at Gibraltar and Corfu.

Captain Penrose, R.E., purchased a barb, in Barbary, from the Bey of Benghazi, which he ran, with some success, in the Mediterranean; and having great expectations of its powers, he sent it to England, and ran it, in the name of "Achach," at Goodwood, where it turned out a complete failure.

A large flight of pelicans, driven from the east by a heavy gale, alighted at Malta, and many were shot or captured. This reminds me of a very extraordinary sight I, and all on board a P. and O. steamer, witnessed in the Suez Canal, on a homeward voyage. We saw in the distance a town, and from it proceeded a long procession of natives in white garments accompanied by some mounted on horseback, who seemed, at times, to gallop along beside it, with the skirts of their long white clothing flying about. We, as well as the captain, all examined this through our glasses, and remarked upon the movements of the processionists. By degrees the scene changed as we neared it, and it turned out that we had witnessed a mirage, and it was a flock of pelicans in a swamp. It was the most deceptive thing that it is possible to imagine, and we looked at one another, and felt rather foolish, when we discovered how we had been deceived.

1. Each of the officers, R.A., had charge of the guns and gun stores in one of the districts of the fortifications. I had charge of the Port des Bombes district, and when visiting one of the stores I saw a snake. It glided away immediately I and my district gunner entered. It was always said that there had never been a snake in the island since the time of St Paul.

While I was at Malta, the French Fleet, of eleven sailing vessels and one paddle-steamer (the frigate *L'Asmodée*), under the command of Admiral the Prince de Joinville, arrived there. The fleet consisted of three-deckers, two-deckers, frigates, etc., and a splendid sight they made as they approached the island in line, under full sail, and went about and anchored. The Prince went to the Palace, to stay with the Governor, Sir Patrick Stuart. Sir William Parker, Naval Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, was absent with the British Fleet, and I escorted Lady Parker and some of her daughters to luncheon, with the captain, on board the *Asmodée*.

The heat in the cabin was about 100°. While the Fleet

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remained, the gates of the town were locked at night, and no one could pass, in or out, without giving the countersign.

Early in 1847, two companies of artillery arrived at Malta to relieve those that were there, to one of which I belonged. Before the relief was completed, a disturbance (not then an unusual occurrence) took place at the theatre (then in the Strada Teatro), between the Maltese and some of the officers of the garrison. The result was that Lieutenant Heyman, R.A., recently arrived, and another officer, were tried by the civil power, and committed to prison; and Assistant-Surgeon Fogo, who had come out in medical charge of the two companies, on board ship, was fined £8. He had really exerted himself to prevent the disturbance; and so suffered unjustly. The two officers in gaol had three cells communicating with one another, allotted to them; one of which they converted into a sitting-room, and decorated with prints of fair ladies, sporting subjects, etc.; and the other two into bedrooms. Opposite the middle cell was another cell, with a small grating in the door of it. In this cell was confined a murderer, who had not been hanged, it was said, because, although he had murdered several of his relations, he had omitted to murder his aunt. This prisoner the officers used to feed with luxuries through the grating in the door.

Of an afternoon, these officers received visits from their friends, in their cells: I visited them there. In the evening they entertained their friends, including the head of the police, at supper. After this, an order was issued stating that, in future, any officer who should be sent to prison would lose his commission.

CHAPTER VI

IN ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND

(1847-1855)

ON the 16th March, 1847, I embarked with my company R. A., commanded by Brevet-Major James, and another company, on board H.M.S. *Athole*.

H.M.S. *Athole* was an old man-of-war, built of larch from the Duke of Athole's estate, Blair Athole, in Scotland. The Duke had married a cousin of my grandmother, a daughter of her aunt, Lady Cathcart; and in my grandfather's diary, I have lately found an entry in which it appears that he went to the Duke of Athole's tent at Perth, on the 6th Aug., 1819, to see the launch of a vessel built by him of his own larch. In 1838 my brother visited Dunkeld and saw the two first larch trees ever planted in Scotland, by a former Duke of Athole, which were then 101 years old; the larger being 14 feet 7 inches in girth, 3 feet from the ground.

H.M.S. *Athole* was commanded by Commander Pern, one of the old navigating officers.

We had to supply all our cabin furniture and necessities (beds, washstands, tubs, etc.), and all our mess necessities, provisions and stores. In fact, we were supplied with nothing but the bare boards, except a ration of salt meat, ship's biscuits, and rum, per diem. It was only at the outbreak of the Crimean War that all necessities were found, and a fixed charge was made for the messing supplied.

This ship, which had brought out our reliefs, having had favourable winds, had made a very quick passage. We based our supply of provisions on a month's voyage, but we were forty-one days in reaching Cork. The current is always running into the Mediterranean, so that if a west wind is blowing it is very difficult, and at times impossible, for a sailing ship to

pass out of the Mediterranean through the narrow Straits of Gibraltar. It was our fate to meet with such a wind, and twice when we got up to the Straits we were backstrapped as far as Malaga Bay, first for six days, and again for three days; and during these nine days, we beat backwards and forwards between the Castle of Frangiola, off Malaga, and the coast of Africa. At last we just slipped through the Straits, with a light favourable wind, before it was succeeded by a dead calm. Before we reached Cork our provisions had run out, and we were reduced to very ancient salt pork and salt beef rations, and ship's biscuit; and were put on a very short allowance of water. Our only luxury was the salt meat grated on a bread grater, and mixed with curry powder.

We spent four days at Haulbowline, and then sailed for Portsmouth, which we reached in three days. We anchored there one day, and shipped the wives of some of the sailors, for passage round to Gravesend, which we reached on the 7th May, or fifty-two days from Malta.

After my return to England I was stationed at Woolwich; but a short time afterwards my company was divided into two detachments, one being sent to the Tower, and the other, in which were Major James and myself, was sent to Purfleet, on the Thames, where gunpowder was stored in large powder magazines. We were sent down the river in a hoy, a small coasting craft, in which we all had to stand on the floor of the hold, with hatches off: In this manner we drifted down with the tide.

The barracks at Purfleet consisted of a centre and two wings. The centre was the men's barrack, and the wings were, respectively, the quarters of the captain and the subaltern. In the captain's quarter there were the things necessary for a scratch mess.

On arrival, I went to breakfast in Major James's quarters. After breakfast he addressed me as follows, "You know, Anson, famiwiawity bweeds contempt. I shall be vewy happy to see you here at bwefast and dinner, but pwaps the less we see of one another at other times the better." I immediately asked him for leave to go to London, which he granted. I had had my gig brought round from Woolwich, and then, to meet my captain's views, went to London frequently. To do this,

I caught the Gravesend steamer, which, going at a great pace, and hooking on to my boat with a boathook, sent me and the boatman head over heels into the bottom of the boat, with the jerk. I left London by the night train, which reached Romford about midnight, and was met there by my gig, in which I drove the nine miles to Purfleet; and then visited the guard, and the sentries over the powder magazines. In this way, I agreed capitally with my commanding officer, and no contempt was bred between us.

Captain John Farnaby Cator (afterwards Sir John Farnaby Lennard, Bart.), adjutant of the 5th battalion, R.A., to which my company belonged, was engaged to be married to his first wife. (He was married twice afterwards; his second wife being the daughter of Henry Hallam, F.R.S., the historian.) He obtained authority for me to take the acting appointment of adjutant during the time he should be on leave, on account of his marriage. There were at that time, nine battalions of artillery, and nine adjutants, who took it turn about to be adjutant of the week. When it fell to my turn, I had to drill all the men of the foot artillery (gunners and drivers as they were then called, although not attached to field batteries), at battalion drill, on the barrack field, in front of the Artillery Barracks, at Woolwich. Considering I had had no experience of battalion drill during my short service of three years, this was no easy task; but, with the aid of a very good battalion sergeant-major, I succeeded fairly well, and without clubbing the divisions more than once or twice. Captain Radcliffe, one of the adjutants, afterwards Lieut.-General, told me he had been much amused, watching me from his house on the Common.

The Chartist Riots took place in London, in April, 1848, and the colonel commanding the field batteries, with which I was then doing duty, and which were ordered to go there, offered me the appointment of his aide-de-camp, but, being unfortunately on the sick list, I was unable to accept it; and I felt very sorry for myself when I saw the batteries marched off the parade ground, to go to London.

My company was, after a time, attached to the reserve field battery. There were at Woolwich, at that time, four field batteries, besides the reserve field battery, as it was called;

and three troops of horse artillery. The men and horses of the reserve battery were employed only in transport work, in the Royal Arsenal; and my duty, when on duty every other week, consisted in marching the men and horses down to the Arsenal, and going there to march them back again at the end of their day's work. The five officers on battery duty for the week had to leave the officers' mess, towards the end of dinner, and go to stable duty with their respective batteries. One of the subalterns told his comrades on this duty, on one occasion, that he was sure the captain on duty would not visit the stables that night. He said the captain was giving a dinner party, at which he was engaged to dine, and, for that object, had leave from stable duty. In consequence of this, none of the others went to stables, but the captain did turn up there, and found them all absent.

The next morning, at stable hour, he had all these officers up before him, and censured them; and told them he had suspected they would be absent. "Then," said one of them, who stammered, "why the de-de-devil did you come?"

In August, 1848, I was appointed to the Horse Artillery, and joined the F Troop (the Brown Troop), commanded by Brevet-Major Archibald Macbean, on the 16th of that month, at Newcastle-on-Tyne. The 63rd regiment was quartered there, and a squadron of the 1st Royal Dragoons. The officers of the latter, with those of my troop, formed a scratch mess, of which I had the management. The members of the mess were very exacting and fastidious. They accused me, of what was not a fact, of ordering them a bad dinner when I happened to dine out. They always demanded to have everything directly it came into season. They used continually to dine at the club, in the town, and I frequently, on those occasions, dined alone at the mess. Then when they did dine at mess, they would have many friends to dine with them. The consequence was that they not only ran up heavy mess bills, about £25 a month, but also considerable bills at the club. The following is an example of their fastidiousness. The steward of the club, who had a small farm in the country, informed me that he had some little sucking pigs to dispose of. I purchased one, and gave the cook (a woman) strict injunctions about its cooking, the stuffing, plum sauce, etc. Alas! when it appeared

at dinner, it was turned upside down on the dish, and, on that account, no one would touch it. After dinner I went down and "had it out" with the cook. The next morning it came up cold, for breakfast, in a proper position, and very little was left when all had breakfasted.

Major Macbean was promoted in November, 1848, and Brevet-Major Hew Ross (son of the late Field-Marshal Sir Hew Ross, G.C.B.), the second captain, assumed temporary command of the troop. Very shortly afterwards he and I went to stay at the Bradford Atkinsons', at Angerton, about eighteen miles from Newcastle. He drove me over in his dogcart, with a horse he had lately bought. He left Angerton the day before I did, and when I returned to barracks, my servant informed me that the major had met with a bad accident. That he was going to ride the horse he had driven to Angerton, to see if it would suit him for hunting. That just as he was throwing his leg over the saddle, the 63rd Regiment, which was drilling in the barrack square, charged, and frightened the horse, which reared and fell over, falling with its hip on the Major's, breaking his pelvis. I went to see him the following morning, and put the leeches on him, that had been ordered by the doctor. The lower part of his body was quite black. He lingered, in great agony, for ten days, before he died. He was a good man, and an excellent officer, and had seen active service in Spain in 1836-37, and in Syria in 1840-41. Sir Hew and Lady Ross, his father and mother, came to Newcastle, to be with him.

Old Lord Ravensworth, of Ravensworth Castle, was a great invalid, and had palsy, but his son, Thomas Liddell, and his wife did the honours of the Castle, and were very kind and hospitable. The old Lord used to appear in the drawing-room for a short time after dinner, and would inquire if we had been properly supplied with wine.

In August, 1849, I marched with my troop to Dublin, *viâ* Liverpool, where we embarked.

In Dublin I was quartered with my troop in the Portobello Barracks, at Rathmines. The Carabiniers (6th Dragoon Guards) were in the barracks with us, and Lieut Tichborne (so famous in the case of the Claimant) was in the room over mine. He was a slight young man, and spoke in a hesitating manner, with a rather foreign accent. He was not treated

with much consideration by his brother officers. I had very little communication with him, beyond saying "Good morning" when meeting him. When talking to one of his brother officers, one morning, I saw him come out of his quarters, and the officer remarked to me, "There's that fool, Tiche."

The 6th Dragoon Guards was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, known as "Justice to Ireland," because, during riots in Carlow, when the mob cried out for justice to Ireland, he patted one of the artillery guns, and called out, "Here's justice to Ireland, my boys, and you shall have as much of it as you like." He afterwards, as Sir James Jackson, commanded at the Cape.

The Inniskillin Dragoons were quartered in Dublin, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Willoughby Moore. He was very popular, and I used to meet him and his wife very frequently at dinner parties. He had a saying, that he and his wife were the ugliest couple in the British Army. He and one wing of his regiment were burnt to death, in a vessel, on their way to the Crimea, and his widow then went as a nurse to Scutari.

The Commanding Officer of the Artillery was Colonel Strangways, a fine old officer, who was killed at the battle of Inkerman, when, as Brigadier-General, he commanded the Royal Artillery in the Crimea. He had been dangerously wounded at Waterloo.

Our mess, while I was in Dublin, was closed for some time for repairs to the building, and during that time I, daily, drove out in my tandem to, and dined at, Howth, Enniskerry, Powerscourt, or Malahide, etc., my companion often being Captain John Miller Adye, or "Joe Miller," as he was called, on account of his habit of making jokes. He became General Sir John Adye, and Governor of Gibraltar.

There was an order in Dublin that officers should go to parties in full dress. I and Foster, of the Carabiniers, went to a ball in plain clothes. This was followed by a General Order, that the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, Sir Richard Blakeney, had been going to the ball, but had not done so as he heard there were officers there in plain clothes, and that any officer in future going to such a party in plain clothes would be punished.

There were generally two Field-days in the week, in the Phoenix Park, during the summer months. One a general Field-day, and the other a cavalry Field-day. The horse artillery attended both.

When Lord Gough returned from India, there was a Field-day in his honour. After marching past at a walk and a trot, the horse artillery had to gallop past. I was in charge of the left division of the troop, and as we galloped past, left in front, I was on the flank of the division, and was responsible for the alignment. My horse was a light thoroughbred, and the men, with "eyes left," intent on seeing Lord Gough, bore so on me, that I could not keep them in the alignment, with the result, that we charged at full gallop into the Staff, and sent them all, including Lord Gough, flying.

The late Duke of Cambridge, at that time Prince George, commanded in Dublin, and at a cavalry Field-day, he had an officer from each of the three cavalry regiments, and one from the horse artillery, on his Staff for the occasion.

Colonel Jackson was in command of the carabiniers, and the Prince, addressing the Staff, said, "Go and tell Colonel Jackson, for God's sake, to do something, and not sit there looking like a fool." The Staff looked at one another, and the lieutenant of the carabiniers reined back out of the way, but Tim Teilly, of the artillery, conveyed the message, more or less exactly, and was told by the Colonel to "Go to h—ll, sir, go to h—ll."

At another cavalry Field-day, Colonel Jackson was in command, and at the end of the manœuvres, the three cavalry regiments were to be formed up in line, with the troop of horse artillery on the right. But when the line was formed, there was not room enough for about half a troop of the cavalry to come up to the line, on the left of the artillery, so Jackson called out, "D—n that artillery, pass your guns to the right." Now, to pass with cavalry means to make the horses move sideways, but it is impossible to make four-wheeled carriages move sideways. They must go to the rear, and come up again to the line.

There was, on one cavalry Field-day, a question about the pace in trotting past. There were three cavalry regiments present, and the colonel in command ordered the pace to be

tested. I had to give the pace with the leading division of my troop of horse artillery, and felt confident about my pace, although my captain differed from me. However, I proved to be right, and the horse artillery were allowed to go home; but the three cavalry regiments were kept at it for more than an hour after.

In 1850, when on leave, I went to stay at my cousin's, Lord Lichfield, at Shugborough, and met there General the Honble George Anson, and his wife and eldest daughter. The General was, at that time, Clerk to the Ordnance Department, and was considered a very expert whist-player and bookmaker, and was possessed of the finest racing mares in the country. He won the Derby with *Attila*. He was afterwards Commander-in-Chief in India, and died of cholera at Karnal when on the march to meet the mutineers.

In August, 1850, I marched with the troop from Dublin to Limerick, meeting the troop we were relieving, commanded by Captain Wood (afterwards Sir David Wood, G.C.B.), with Pack Beresford as his second Captain, at the halfway. At Naas, where we were billeted for a night, we were waited on by the individual from whom Charles Lever took his character of Corny Delany. He was an amusing fellow, and was aware of his notoriety, and acted well up to his part.

Lieut-Colonel Louis was in command of the artillery in Limerick. Mrs Louis exulted in the way in which she had obtained the Colonel for her husband. She gave me, on more than one occasion, an account of it. "You must know," she said, "Louis married the wrong one." It appeared that Louis, when a captain at Gibraltar, was in love with one of the daughters of the British consul at Cadiz (Mr Brackenbury); and Louis asked his subaltern, Gilbert, to accompany him to Cadiz, where he intended to propose to the young lady. They arrived at Cadiz just in time to dress for dinner. Louis dressed hurriedly, hoping to get the chance of meeting the young lady in the drawing-room, before any of the rest of the party came down. He got down to the drawing-room, in which there was very little light, and a young lady entered, and he, without delay, proposed and was accepted; but it was the wrong one, the sister of the right one. She, however, made him a very good wife.

There was a strict order that officers should go about the town of Limerick in uniform. I was in plain clothes in George Street (the main street) one day, when I suddenly spied some one in uniform, with a cocked hat, in the distance. Believing it to be the General, I bolted into a shop, and waited until the danger was past. The same thing happened again, on another occasion, when I was not so fortunate as to escape; and I almost ran up against the cocked-hatted individual, who, fortunately for me, turned out to be only the Town-crier.

I was married, in January, 1851, in Limerick. The wedding took place, as customary there at that time, at 8 o'clock in the morning, to allow time for the service and the breakfast to be over by 11 o'clock, when the train left for Dublin. The service was performed at St Michael's Church, by the Dean of Limerick.

The officer commanding the district, during the first part of the time I was in Limerick, was the one-armed General Napier. We had on one occasion a sham fight at the drill field, at Newcastle, about two miles from the town. The troops were divided into two opposing parties, and half my troop, with two guns, was with one side, and the other half, of which I, a subaltern, was in command, with their opponents. (There were then only four guns to a troop.) I was ordered to protect a square of infantry, about to be charged by cavalry. I had my guns in rear, in echelon of the square, and when the cavalry charged, and were close up to the square, I fired, scattering the mounted troopers, and sending the subaltern of the 4th Dragoons flying out of his saddle. The enemy were routed, and victory was ours. The French would have said, as they did on the occasion of the Balaklava Charge, "*C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre.*"

The 68th Regiment was at Limerick, and kept a pack of harriers, with which they hunted twice a week; and Colonel Dixon, of Croom, had the foxhounds, which also hunted twice a week. The officers of the garrison and the county members of the hunt were on the most friendly terms.

Captain Hamilton Jackson, of Attyflyn, near Patrickswell, about five miles from Limerick, was dining at our mess one night, when the subject of poteen came up in the course of conversation, and some of us said we should like to taste some.

Captain Jackson said if I would put a dozen empty bottles into my dogcart, and drive out early the next morning to a place indicated, he would give me some. Accordingly, I drove the next morning to the Athluncard bridge, where I dropped my servant, and then drove on a short distance to a gate, through which I passed into a field, and up to a well-built stone cottage with a slate roof. Here my horse was held, and I went into the cottage. The shutters were shut, and a cask of poteen was taken up from below the floor, and the dozen bottles filled. We did not greatly appreciate the whiskey, it had rather an earthy taste; but when I had some of it, a year later, at Captain Jackson's house, and it had been about a year in bottle, it was very good.

I was walking one day in the main street of Limerick with Mr Stein, the owner of the great distillery in the town, when a man, whom I had employed when snipe shooting in the Clare hills, came up to me, and asked me if I wanted any poteen. I said, "A nice fellow you are, to come and ask me such a question; don't you know who this gentleman is?" He replied, "It's Mr Stein, and sure he likes a drop of the raale thing, as well as any man." This man had pointed out to me several places, the remains of very small shanties in the Clare Hills, when I was out shooting, where poteen had been distilled.

From Limerick I went, on leave, to see the Great Exhibition of 1851. I travelled by rail to Cork, by steamer (a miserable vessel) from there to Bristol, and by train on to London. I spent a few days at Bath, en route, with a cousin whose husband had been a former "Master of the Ceremonies" in that town.

One of the exhibits at the Exhibition was a statue of a nude Greek slave, with only a chain round her waist. A lady in society, describing her daughter's dress at a fancy dress ball, to which she went in the dress of an Abyssinian slave, said, "My daughter looked charming as the Greek slave." Of course this created much amusement in London society. I knew both the lady and her daughter.

There were riots at Limerick at the time of the election of 1852. One night at that time, I was out on duty with half my troop, as cavalry (without the guns); and while parading

the streets of the town, we were pelted, among other things, in the old town, by large and heavy bunches of keys. We wound up our night's work in the little square behind St John's Church, where the mob had gutted the house of the Protestant candidate, broken the windows, and thrown the furniture on to the ground outside.

The next day half the troop was sent, with two guns, to defend the bridge leading in to County Clare; and the other half, with the other two guns, under my command, to defend the bridge leading in to the old town, at the end of the main street. The remaining bridge was to be defended by the infantry. The object was to prevent the rioters, from County Clare, from coming into the town. The Roman Catholic candidate came to near where I was sitting on my horse, and, standing on an outside car, addressed the people, pointing to me, "You see what they want to do, they want to murder you."

Presently the Clare mob on the opposite side of the bridge began to show itself, and press on towards the bridge, and I gave the word of command to "light the portfire," but fortunately for me, and for the mob, they discovered that the third bridge was undefended, the infantry not having arrived in time, and they moved off, and entered the town in that direction. The following day, I was out with half the troop as cavalry. We were halted at the end of a street off the lower end of the main street, and there were present, my captain (Gilbert), the adjutant-general, the magistrate, some infantry, and a considerable mob of rioters. The magistrate seemed afraid to act, so, to the astonishment of my superior officers, I gave him a bit of my mind. He then said, "What do you want me to do?" I replied, "Read the Riot Act, and we will do the rest." He then read the Riot Act, and the half troop, acting as cavalry, advanced, with drawn swords, up the middle of the street, and the infantry, with bayonets at the charge, on each foot pavement. It was marvellous to see how the crowd dispersed, and one could not make out where they disappeared to. A hideous old woman stood in front of my captain's horse, and made ugly faces at him, with her mouth wide open. He pointed his sword at her, to frighten her, and the point of it, accidentally, just entered her mouth. He said afterwards, he had half a mind to slit it.

On the nomination day, the Protestant candidate and his supporters had to take refuge in the Castle barracks, in the old town. The rioters were collected outside, and seemed disposed to force the barrack gate. The General in command of the troops and his Staff were there, and orders were given that, should the gate be forced open, a section of the infantry, told off for the purpose, should fire. However, this did not occur, and, after some delay, a procession was formed thus: police in front, then cavalry, then the Protestant candidate and his supporters, with infantry on each side, then cavalry, and then police again bringing up the rear.

When crossing the bridge, there was some pelting; the adjutant-general blocked a brickbat with his sword, that would otherwise have struck the General on the head. Lieut Knatchbull, of the cavalry, had the metal peak of his helmet knocked into his eye, just as his valuable horse stumbled and fell and broke his knees. He was mistaken for me by some one, who went off and told my wife that I had been injured, which, of course, caused her much anxiety.

I had been told off as an A.D.C. to the General for the occasion, and as soon as the bridge had been passed safely, the General ordered me to go back to the Castle barracks and tell the horse artillery to go home; but to remain saddled, in case they should be required. When I turned back to carry out the order, I found I had, alone, to face the crowd on the bridge, who looked "nasty." However, there was nothing for it, so pulling my horse together, and holding him tight in hand, I dug my spurs in, and made him rear and plunge, and, with my sword drawn, I "went for it." The crowd, thinking the cavalry were going to charge, cleared the middle of the road. Those out of my reach pelted me, but as they had to pelt over the heads of those in front of them, I passed safely under an archway of missiles. The pace I went at prevented any one from taking aim, and most of the shots took effect behind me. I all but ran over a priest, who was placing himself very much in evidence among the rioters.

I was promoted just after these riots, and ordered to join a field battery, as 2nd captain, at Leith Fort, near Edinburgh.

When I went to the barracks to take leave of my old troop, I found them just starting for Sixmilebridge, in County Clare,

where there were election riots, and where, a day or two after the infantry, the 36th Regiment, fired on the rioters.

When first I went to Limerick, and up to the time I married there, I had charge of our scratch mess, the members of which were the unmarried officers of the troop of horse artillery, and those of the troop of cavalry. To economize, I used to drive out into the country and buy fowls, etc. For the 29th Sept., I purchased a goose, and stowed it away under the seat of my trap. As soon as I started, the goose began to hiss and flap its wings; which caused my horse to bolt and run away, and this occurred every time I started, and I thought I should never get home safe. I drew a line at geese after that.

When billeted at Nenagh, on the march to Limerick, my captain purchased a red setter. He lent me this dog, when I was one day going snipe shooting in Sir David Roche's bog, about five miles from town. The dog worked very well until a wild duck got up near him, at which I fired, when the dog ran away. For long after, this dog could be seen going round the country in a large circle, and no one could stop it. I saw it once or twice myself, and followed it, for a short distance, on horseback. It must have worn itself out and died.

I was again in want of a dog for shooting, and wrote to a friend in Dublin, who replied he knew of one to be disposed of. I sent to the railway station to meet this dog at the train, and it was duly brought to me. It was a pointer, but alas! had but about an inch of tail. It might have been a very good dog, but I could not fancy a dog pointing with only an inch of tail, and I knew I should get unmercifully chaffed by my brother officers about it, so I sent it back by the next train, before it had been seen by any one.

The friend who sent me the dog had a brother-in-law at Patrickswell, near Limerick, and when he was staying with his brother-in-law I was invited to go to breakfast and out partridge shooting afterwards. I accepted the invitation, and walked after the partridges for about three hours, during which time I shot a quail. My friend then said, "It is very extraordinary, I know there are a brace and a half of partridges somewhere." Then I thought it was better to go home.

Captain Hamilton Jackson, of Attyflin, suggested to me that I should get up some steeple-chase races, and said that

he would lay out the course in his park. The races came off, at one of which I ran a horse. While the race was being run in a circular course, I followed round, on a horse, in an inner circle. Galloping along, I saw a man in front of me, who, seeing me coming, stupidly ran in front of my horse, and was knocked down. I looked to see if he was hurt, and, as he appeared not to be, I went on. Later on in the day, a friend of mine came up to me, and asked if I had not knocked a man down; and when I replied I had done so, he said, "Well, you had better slip away as quickly as possible, when the races are over, as they are going to waylay and beat you." A party of us dined at the Captain's, after the races; and, after dinner, we went down to where the booths had been erected, and there, in one of them, the people placed a door on the floor and in turns we danced an Irish jig with some of the women, but none of us could keep it up so long as our lady partners.

I went to Leith *viâ* Dublin, Belfast, and Glasgow, arriving, with two horses, at the last named place early on a Sunday morning; and found that I could not go on to Edinburgh until the next day, as there were no trains then running on Sundays.

After arrival at Leith, I took Trinity Lodge, a house very prettily situated in the middle of a field, about a mile and a half from the barracks at Leith, and between Newhaven and Granton. It belonged to a gentleman, then in Australia, who was the inventor of a boomerang propeller for vessels. It was on the top of the bank, and commanded a view, from the drawing-room, of Burntisland, which was exactly opposite, across the Firth of Forth; of the island of Inchkeith to the east; and of Edinburgh Castle, from the dining-room window, at the other side of the house. The house is now surrounded by new villas.

The artillery at that time was commanded by Colonel Teesdale, a very popular officer, and the father of the late Major-General Sir Christopher Teesdale, K.C.M.G., V.C., equerry, etc., to King Edward when Prince of Wales, and who had been with General Williams at the Siege of Kars. Harry Teesdale, a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers, a brother of Christopher's, a very nice young fellow, was at Leith at that



TRINITY LODGE, TRINITY, NEAR EDINBURGH



THE PALACE, MANCHESTER (see p. 27).

From an old Print.

[Facing p. 90.]

time. He died soon after. Christopher had, on promotion, come from Corfu on leave, to stay with his father. He was remarkable then for his indifferent style of dress, and rather gaudy ties.

Crawford was my 1st captain. He was afterwards Brigadier-General, commanding the Royal Artillery at the relief of Lucknow, and in China, in 1860. He was in bad health, and most of the work of the battery was left to me.

Lieut F. Whinyates, who afterwards served in the troop of horse artillery, was one of the subalterns, and W. W. Barry (who was acting adjutant) was the other. Barry afterwards distinguished himself in India and China, and was made a C.B.

While at Leith I was ordered, with the military store-keeper at Edinburgh, to make a return of all the military stores at the Castle. There could not have been an account of these stores for many years, for many of them were in a state of decay.

My cousin Augustus Anson, son of the Earl of Lichfield, was appointed to the 4th Regiment, and joined it at Edinburgh Castle. A few days later, he was being drilled on the Castle Hill, when he caught cold, and got pneumonia and pleurisy. When he got better, he came to stay with me, at Trinity Lodge, and then went to London. He was then appointed to the Rifle Brigade; but the battalion to which he was attached was sent to the Crimea, and as he had not completed his drills, he was transferred to the other battalion, with which he shortly after went to the war. He afterwards obtained the Victoria Cross while serving in India during the Mutiny. He was very deaf. He had been a cadet at the Royal Military Academy, at Woolwich, and been obliged to leave on account of his deafness. I had selected the school that he should be sent to, in order to prepare him for Woolwich. His brother was, afterwards, sent to the same school at Shooter's Hill, but went into the Church. He afterwards became Bishop of Qu'Appelle, and one day remarked to me, "Why did they send me to that school? I learnt nothing there that was of any use to me."

Our nearest neighbour was Major James, R.E., who lived at the top of the hill above Granton, and was in charge of the

survey of Scotland. A great friend of his, whom I used to meet at his house, was Smyth, the Astronomer Royal for Scotland; and it was amusing to listen to these two discussing scientific subjects, for what the one said the other invariably contradicted, but in the most amicable way.

Other near friends and neighbours, at Trinity Lodge, were Mr and Mrs Hawkins, whose daughter had lately married the Earl of Kintore, whose son, Lord Inverurie, had just been born. Lord Kintore was a frequent visitor at my house, and generally turned up in a shaggy goat-skin coat. Lady Kintore was a very pretty woman.

A cousin of mine was married to the Earl of Rosebery, and I, accompanied by my wife, passed many pleasant days at Dalmeny. Lord Rosebery was my godfather, and was always very kind and considerate to me. He had some excellent old Madeira in his cellar, and he always used to say, "Archibald must have his bottle of Madeira." He and Lady Rosebery often came to tea with us at Trinity Lodge, and on one occasion their visit was followed, the next day, by the arrival, from Edinburgh, of a very handsome and comfortable arm-chair, and Lady Rosebery told me afterwards that Lord Rosebery had looked round my drawing-room to see if there was anything I wanted, and had come to the conclusion that I wanted a comfortable armchair, and so had ordered one to be sent to me. I had many a pleasant day's shooting at Dalmeny, often going out alone with old Walker, the gamekeeper, and Elder of the Kirk. He turned out in a black shooting-coat, and had a trick of unceasingly shifting the dog-whip he carried from one hand to another, and then spitting into the hand just vacated by the whip. Returning home at night, riding my battery-horse, I often carried a brace of pheasants and a hare across the pommel of my saddle.

Lord and Lady Rosebery were very much devoted to one another, and, at Dalmeny, when he returned from his afternoon ride and she from her drive, it was pleasant to see them take their walk together round by the garden or to the factor's house. On these occasions I sometimes accompanied them. When Lady Dalmeny was staying there, I passed some pleasant mornings with her, in the sitting-room placed at her disposal by my cousin, Lady Louisa Primrose. The evenings

were passed in the comfortable library, where it was a delight to listen to the songs of Lady Louisa, with her magnificent voice. Lady Dalmeny, after her husband's death, became Duchess of Cleveland. She had been one of Queen Victoria's bridesmaids. Lord Dalmeny was a great friend of my eldest brother. He died in 1851, at the age of forty-nine. The present Lord Rosebery was, at the time of which I write, six years old, and he and his brother and two sisters dined with us at the luncheon hour. Archy Dalmeny, as he then was, had his hair cut straight across his forehead, and the rest of it in long curls down the back of his head.

The old Duchess of Cambridge, her son (the late Duke), her daughters (the Duchess of Mecklenburg Strelitz and Princess Mary), accompanied by Baron —, were invited to lunch at Dalmeny, and my wife and I were invited to meet them. The only other guest was old Lady Hopetoun. After lunch the party were invited by Lady Hopetoun to go on to Hopetoun House, and we were invited to accompany them. There we walked about the garden. Lady Hopetoun suffered from shaking palsy, and went about in a bath-chair drawn by a donkey, and was unable to keep in touch with her guests. Lord Hopetoun was a shy young man, and the duty of conducting the party fell upon me, although I was a stranger to the place. Lord Hopetoun and I walked with Princess Mary between us. She made herself very agreeable, and pocketed several odd things I picked up. Among other things we discussed was gardening, and I said I was very fond of it, and worked hard in my garden, and exercised myself with digging. The Princess turned sharply round to Lord Hopetoun, and said, "Lord Hopetoun, do you ever dig?" He replied, shyly, that he did not, and he certainly did not look like it.

I was dining with Sir John McNeill, a former representative of the British Government in Persia, who lived on the banks of the Firth of Forth, near Granton, and when the ladies retired, I moved to the seat on my left, next to Sir John, which a lady, whose name at the moment I did not know, had vacated. In course of conversation, the gentleman in the place opposite me, on Sir John's left, alluded to some matter of history, and I questioned his accuracy. Sir John leant towards me, and in a low voice said, "Do you know who

that is sitting opposite to you?" On my replying that I did not, he told me that it was Sir Archibald Alison (the historian). I at once succumbed. I ascertained afterwards that the lady who had sat on my left at dinner, and to whose seat I had moved, was Lady Alison. Sir Archibald told us that the grandees of Peru, when travelling, had all their basins and other utensils made of silver; and that when, for some reason they had to dispose of some of them, the silver coinage of England, about the year 1820, was made from them.

I was told that Sir Archibald frequently sat writing at his history, in the drawing-room, of an evening, while he had company in the room.

On an occasion of the Queen's coming to Holyrood, I was ordered to proceed there with my battery to fire the salute on her arrival. My instructions were, not to fire until Her Majesty was clear of her carriage, as she was nervous. I formed the battery in line in the park near the Palace, and sent a trumpeter a little way up the hill to watch for, and give notice of, the Queen's arrival, the signal for which was to be the hoisting of the flag on the staff in front of the Palace. After waiting a long time, the adjutant of the artillery came galloping up to me, and said, "The Queen wishes to know why she has not been saluted." I replied, "The flag—" and I was going to add "has not been hoisted," when I saw it suddenly blow out a little from the mast. The weather was so close and thundery, without a breath of air, that the flag had clung so close to the mast, on the side away from us, that although all, including the trumpeter on the hill, had been watching the mast, the flag had not been visible. I immediately fired the salute.

On another occasion I got into trouble about firing a salute on the Queen's arrival. That time from the Castle. The arrival was to take place after dark, and the signal was to be a blue light on the Carlton Hill. After a long wait, a blue light became visible, and the old master gunner at the Castle, and others whom I consulted, all saw the blue light, and agreed that it was the signal. I therefore ordered the port fire to be lighted, and fired the salute, which resounded all over the town. I had just fallen in the gun detachments, and was about to march them back to Leith Fort, when there was

a clatter of a horse's hoofs on the stones, and the adjutant appeared, and called out to me, "What have you been doing?" On my stating that I had been saluting Her Majesty, he informed me that a telegram had been received that she had just left Berwick. Some one must have been "playing the fool" on the Carlton Hill, for there was no mistake about there having been a blue light. I had to load again and fire a second salute, when the Queen did arrive. There was afterwards some question whether I should be charged for the powder, but eventually I was not.

The following morning I had to march the gun detachments from Leith Fort to the Castle, to salute Her Majesty on leaving for Balmoral. That there might be no mistake again, I waited until I saw the Royal train under the Castle, and then fired the salute.

Lord Murray, a lord of sessions, was famous for his good dinners, in Edinburgh. He had his oysters specially fattened for him at Anderson's (the fishmonger's), and occasionally gave little dinners to a friend or two, in his own kitchen, of a woodcock or some other delicacy, carefully cooked. He and Lady Murray gave dinner parties, followed by large evening parties. At these after-dinner gatherings, there was music in the front drawing-room, where no talking was allowed. In the back drawing-room, conversation was permitted: and, in a small room off the back drawing-room, there were laid out refreshments, including périgord pies, and chablis, etc. It was a custom in Edinburgh at that time to have many different wines at dinner parties; and when dining at Lord Murray's, and sitting between him, who was at the end of the table, on my left and Lady Murray on my right, I was plied with a great variety of delicacies by Lady Murray, and with thirteen kinds of wine by Lord Murray.

Among other kind friends were Lord and Lady Morton, of Dalmahoy. I was shooting at Dalmahoy one winter, when there was snow on the ground. One of the party was a Swiss gentleman, a Monsieur Pictet, a protégé of the late Queen Adelaide. He was placed at the further side of a gate, near my position, which was in a plantation. As the beaters commenced beating towards us from the farther end of the wood, they started a fox, which Monsieur Pictet fired at, and knocked

over. I went up to him and said, "Monsieur Pictet, you have shot a fox." He said, "Have I done anything wrong?" I told him that Lord Aberdour, Lord Morton's eldest son, was very fond of hunting, and for that reason he was especially particular about preserving foxes. He then said, "In my country, they do shoot the fox; say you do it." I declined to take this responsibility. When Lord Aberdour came up with the beaters and the rest of the guns and heard what had happened, he said to Monsieur Pictet, "Monsieur Pictet, I hear you have shot a fox," and Monsieur Pictet then made the excuse, that in his country "they did shoot the fox," and added he was very sorry if he had done anything wrong. Lord Aberdour replied angrily, "I would rather you had shot a man."

I had my first lesson in curling at Dalmahoy. Lady Aberdour, a daughter of Lord Durham, and then a bride, was one of the players; and Lord Mark Kerr was another.

Mr and Mrs Bouverie Primrose, the latter my cousin and the sister of Lord Rosebery's wife (father and son having, as before mentioned, married two sisters), had a nice house, No. 22, Moray Place, overlooking the Firth of Forth, and we saw a great deal of them and their children, one of whom is now Sir Henry Primrose and another is an admiral. Mr Primrose was Secretary to the Society of Arts and Manufactures and also to the Board of Fisheries. In his latter capacity, he had to visit places round the coast of Scotland. For the protection of the fisheries, there was a cutter of 105 tons, named the *Princess Royal*, on the west coast, and a man-of-war steamer, stationed in the Firth of Forth, for the east coast.

Mr Primrose kindly took me, as his guest, on one of his trips in the *Princess Royal*. We went to Glasgow by train, and from there to the Crinan Canal by the *Mountaineer* steamer, and through the canal by ferry-boat, drawn by a horse, to Crinan. There we embarked in the cutter, and spent the night anchored between the islands of Islay and Jura. We left Islay next morning and landed at Scarsaig, in the island of Colonsay, to call on Lord Colonsay, but he was absent from home. We afterwards visited Iona, in the grey of the morning; Tobermory and its granite quarry; Staffa

Loch Coruisk, in Skye; the Cuchulin hills, and the cave in Loch Slapin. On landing at Loch Scavig, two large eagles rose from the ground, and when we reached the spot from which they had risen, we found a considerable number of bones picked quite clean. As there were some small bones and large ones mixed, we were at a loss to imagine to what animal they had belonged; but it presently dawned upon us that they were the chicken and lamb bones left behind by a party on board a yacht, that had just left, and which we had passed on our way.

As my leave was short, I had to return to Leith, which I did *viâ* Oban and Fort William, and from there by coach to Glasgow. The *Princess Royal*, with Mr Primrose, was to have gone to the North of Scotland, and there he was to have met H.M.S. *Trident*, the fishery man-of-war, and so returned down the east coast to the Firth of Forth, but the weather was so bad that he never got beyond Portree. The *Princess Royal* had a crew of sixteen men, and had four 4-pounders on board, with which I made some practice. Severe fights took place at times among the fishermen, and they destroyed one another's nets, some of which were worth £100 each, and the Fishery vessels had to preserve the peace among the fishermen and prevent or stop these contests.

In March, 1854, the war broke out with Russia, and it was expected that my company would be sent to Bomarsund in the Baltic; but this did not come off. Instead of that, there being a shortage of subalterns on account of the war, I, a 2nd captain, was sent to take command of a detachment of about twenty-five men at Fort George, in the Moray Firth, near Inverness. I left my family at Trinity Lodge.

The garrison at Fort George consisted of the Fort major and his wife; a captain of the Royal Engineers and his wife; a doctor and his wife and his two daughters; two lieutenants, with a company of the 69th Regiment from Aberdeen (one of these officers had been in the Canadian Rifles); and a military store-keeper and his wife.

For want of occupation, I applied to the office of the Master-General of the Ordnance, in Pall Mall, for permission to convert one of the ditches of the Fort into a garden. This being authorized, I sent my men out along the beach to collect

seaweed and every sort of rubbish that had been washed ashore, not excluding dead animals, and with these materials I made a splendid manure-heap in the ditch, and got a good garden under way. I and my detachment were relieved too soon to get any produce from our labours, and I heard that my successor took no interest in the work and let the garden fall into the hands of the Scotch chaplain. Many of my men were old soldiers, some getting on towards the end of their twenty-one years' service, but, by a good deal of persuasion, I got them all to attend the barrack school, in the lessons at which they became interested and made fair progress. The result of this was that I had scarcely any defaulters, while the 69th had many.

Our only gaieties were tea-parties at the quarters of the doctor, when I played at *vingt-et-un*, for twopenny stakes, with the doctor and his wife and two daughters and the two officers of the 69th. The room was lighted by lamps burning whale-oil, which made an abominable smell. The doctor's wife wore a small green plaid shawl over her shoulders, and crossed over her chest, and carpet-slippers on her feet. The daughters were of the garrison type. I was talking to one of them one afternoon, when I was greatly taken aback by her suddenly asking me the extraordinary question, "What did you think of your wife before you married her?"

In the following June I was ordered, with my detachment, to proceed to Carlisle.

At Carlisle I had the recruiting for the artillery in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Dumfries, and recruiting parties out in some of the principal towns in these counties.

Among other duties, I was ordered to go to Whitehaven, and take over recruits from the militia. For this, I sent in the customary account for travelling expenses. These were queried, and as there was so much delay in sending me the queries, I had gone to the Crimea before I received them, together with a second set of queries for some other duty. Having no documents to refer to, and my recruiting sergeant being in England or elsewhere, I was unable to reply to these queries, and was consequently surcharged, something over £5, on account of them. My charges were quite correct, and I was really entitled to them.

One day I received an order to send a guard for a military

prisoner to be conducted from the military prison, near Edinburgh. My instructions were, that the party should go by a very roundabout route. I wrote and pointed out that there would be a considerable saving of expense by sending the party by the direct route, but for this I was "snubbed."

At Carlisle, we had a house in George Street, and our next-door neighbours were Mrs Carr and two daughters, Quakers, of the family of the great biscuit manufacturer. They were very kindly neighbours. Our house belonged to the mother of Dr Johnson, the late Bishop of Calcutta.

Dr Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was then Dean of Carlisle. I was at a children's party at the Deanery, when his poor children, who afterwards died of scarlet fever, were present. I recollect how Mrs Tait used to come into the cathedral, followed, in single file, by all the children, little Crawford bringing up the rear, and then, in file, they wheeled to the right, and then to the left, to their seat.

Dr Percy, the Bishop, was a very kind friend to me and my wife. He would come and see us, and say, "When are you coming to stay with us? You know what my arrangements are. I shall be busy all day, but we shall meet in the evening. My daughters will take care of your wife, and I shall tell the keeper to put you in the way of the best shooting, such as it is." And very pretty those visits to Rose Castle were. There was a story told of the Bishop, that on one occasion, meeting a butcher who claimed a right of way through some part of the Rose Castle estate, an altercation took place, and, in the end, the "blue apron" went down before the "black one."

Lord and Lady Holmesdale were staying at Rose Castle during one of my visits, and it was then that they received the news that their son in the Coldstream Guards (the late Earl Amherst) had been severely wounded in the Crimea.

When on a visit to the Bishop, I suggested that, as the troops at Carlisle were likely to be sent to the war in the Crimea, it would be a good thing to hold a Confirmation for them in the Cathedral. He adopted my suggestion; but I ascertained, afterwards, that my more correct course would have been to address the Dean on the subject. A Confirmation was, however, held, at which many of the soldiers were confirmed.

Major Prevost, the Staff officer of pensioners, had the shooting at Greta Green, and invited me to shoot there with him on the 1st September. He said, "If you will bring your wife, my wife will come too, and we will put up at the inn the night before." This arrangement was carried out. At the same time that we arrived at the inn, a couple arrived to be married. The widow of the blacksmith famous for forging the fetters of marriage, produced to us, carefully wrapped up in an Indian bandana, the original register of marriages, which contained many famous names, used at the ceremonies connected with which her husband had officiated. Major Prevost had a gamekeeper who had been an old poacher, and boasted that he formerly used to walk across country from Carlisle to Newcastle, poaching all the way. He was a fine fellow in his way, and had poached more for the love of sport than for profit.

The Phillip Howards, of Corby Castle, were very hospitable and friendly. Although Roman Catholics, they generally invited us to dinner on a Friday. But with salmon, fresh out of the Eden, close to the house, and many excellent dishes without meat, and washed down with champagne and other choice wines, we were unable to do justice to house lamb, or some other dish of meat, served specially for us towards the end of the entertainment. The family priest was always present, and seemed to enjoy the good things, and his comfortable appearance indicated no signs of abstinence or fasting.

Charles Harcourt, whose father, the Archbishop of York, was my father's uncle, was one of the Canons of Carlisle; and another of the Canons was Henry Percy, the Bishop's son, and we were on very friendly terms with both, as well as with the wife of the latter.

Among other good friends were the Coulsons of Blenkinsop Castle, the McConnells of Penrith, Admiral and Mrs Elliott of Appleby Castle, and the Rev. Mr and Mrs Edward Cookson of Kirkby Thor, near Penrith, at all of whose houses we spent pleasant visits.

Mr McConnell had been a pupil of Macadam (the inventor of macadam for road-making), and had made the excellent roads at the pass of Killiekrankie, in Perthshire. He was a great favourite. Mr Cookson was a brother of John Cookson, of Meldon, in Northumberland, who was Master of the hounds;

and his wife was a sister of Miss Strickland, authoress of "The Queens of England," whom I met when staying at the rectory. Mrs Coulson was a Miss Byron ; she amused herself, during dinner, by making spills. Mr Coulson, when I was staying at Blenkinsop Castle some years later, told me an amusing story about a parrot. He one day met the Dean of Carlisle, who greatly disapproved of the use of spirits and tobacco. In the course of conversation the subject of parrots was mentioned, and Mr Coulson said that he had often wished to have one. On this the Dean said, "I have one ; it is rather a stupid bird, but you are welcome to have it, if you like." It was then agreed that the bird should be sent to Blenkinsop Castle. It duly arrived, and Mr Coulson found it a dull bird for about a fortnight, but at the end of that time he went to it, and offered it something between his finger and thumb. The bird then cocked its eye with a knowing look, and said, "Take a glass of brandy and water, and a cigar, Mr Dean." Mr Coulson ascertained afterwards that the daughters of the then Bishop, who had taken charge of the bird during the Dean's absence on one occasion, had taught it to say this ; and naturally, the Dean was glad to get rid of the bird from his hall, where it injured its master's character, behind his back, in the presence of visitors.

Early in 1855, I, with my detachment and the other detachments of my company, went to Woolwich. Anticipating being, at an early date, sent to the Crimea, I took a house at Croydon, in order that my family might be near my sister, Mrs Farrer, whose husband was the Rector of Shirley and Addington. I had a quarter in the Woolwich barracks, but spent most nights at Croydon. This I was enabled to do, as my company was going through a course of heaving gun drill, etc., at the Repository, and I was generally free after the afternoon drill, until the drill hour the following morning. This drill, in preparation for going to the war, was unsatisfactory, as drafts were continually being taken from my company to make up the complements of other companies under orders to go out, and their places were taken by recruits.

CHAPTER VII

THE CRIMEA

(1855)

TOWARDS the end of March I volunteered to go to the Crimea, on any special service, and, in consequence, was sent to Dublin, on the 4th April, to take out from there remount artillery horses.

The whole of the remount horses were paraded before me, by Captain Pierrepont Mundy, R.A., and I selected the 103 which I considered the best. The following day, 16th April, I marched with them to Kingstown, and embarked, with them, on board the paddle wheel Cunard steamer *Cambria*, with two lieutenants, Ward and Carlew, who were told off as my subalterns, and with Assistant-Surgeon Morris in medical charge. Besides these there were four young lieutenants, George Maule, Hunter, Rice, and Geary, who had joined the regiment only on the 28th February. They were being sent out to join their companies in the Crimea. Geary became Lieut.-General, K.C.B., and Governor of Bermuda.

After passing Gibraltar the sea was very rough, and the ports had, in consequence, to be closed. Bedding for the horses had been placed on board before the ship arrived at Kingstown, from Liverpool, and this, becoming heated, made the air so bad that I had to send relays of men, stripped, to clean out the stables, and had to give them a glass of grog on coming up. Twelve horses became sick from the same cause. Some of the horses, for which there was not room below, were accommodated under sheds at each end of the deck, near the paddle-boxes. One of these horses was found to have his nose and under lip swelled to an enormous size, giving the animal a very hideous appearance. The farrier-major could not conceive what was the cause of it. At

last it was ascertained that these horses being in the habit of biting at the crew and others when passing them, the ship's painter, when passing, had given this horse a dab on the nose and mouth with his paint brush, which was full of turpentine.

The forage had all been put on board at Liverpool, and I had not been furnished with any return of the quantity of it. One day, at dinner, before reaching Malta, the captain told me he heard the forage was running short. I told him I would have the forage store overhauled, and this I had done, and afterwards told the captain I had ascertained there was an ample supply of forage.

On arrival at Malta, I went to report myself at the Palace, where Major-General Sir W. Reed, R.E. (the discoverer of the law of storms), was Governor. The Quartermaster-General, an engineer officer, asked me if I wanted anything. Thinking that, as there were probably many sick horses in the Crimea, a supply of bran would come in useful there, I said I wanted nothing, but should like some bran. I dined at the artillery mess at St Elmo that night, and sat next to the vice-president, who was the adjutant. Towards the end of dinner he received a letter, and, after reading it, looked confusedly at me. I therefore asked him what was the matter, and whether there was anything in the letter that concerned me. After considerable hesitation, he said the letter was from the officer commanding the artillery, to say that I had reported that I wanted nothing, but that the captain of the steamer had reported to the Admiral that we were short of forage, and that the General (the Governor) thought of detaining me at Malta, and sending another officer on in command. I suggested that they might go to a "hot place below." About six o'clock the following morning the captain came to me and said, "Two lighters have just come alongside with forage." I then asked him why, after I had told him that there was ample forage on board, he had reported to the Admiral that there was not? He said he had forgotten, and expressed his regret, and then asked what he should do. I said, "Is the steam up?" and, as he replied that it was, I said, "Go ahead!" and off we steamed, leaving the lighters bobbing about in our wake. I had the satisfaction of thinking of the trouble and correspondence there would be, about taking the forage back into store.

At Malta we embarked six officers of the line, viz. Lieutenant Clarke, 62nd Regiment; Lieutenant Maule, 49th; Lieutenant Stone, 55th; Lieutenant Browne, 97th; Lieutenant Singleton, 30th; and Lieutenant Croker, 47th.

We passed inside the island of Cerigo, and close to Cape Matapan, where we saw the cell of the hermit who during the war used to come out and curse the English as they passed; but he did not turn up and pay us this compliment. This hermit was still there in 1904. A lady, resident at Athens, has told me that he was a sailor, and, being wrecked off Cape Matapan, when his wife was drowned, he established himself there, and now blesses all vessels passing, and hopes, by so doing, his wife may again be restored to him.

We landed at Scutari at 8 a.m on the 30th April. I reported myself to the Colonel of the Royal Artillery, and to Lord William Paulet, the Commander-in-Chief. The Colonel took me to visit the Turkish Barrack, which had been converted into the General Hospital (Miss Nightingale's). There I found everything in apparent perfection in every way, and a brother officer of mine, who had been there for a long time, for his health, told me that the miseries of the Hospital had been much exaggerated. Miss Nightingale was away at the time, I believe at the Crimea.

There were few sick in bed in the hospital, most of the patients being well enough to get up. There was a capital library and reading-room for convalescents.

I was lionized over the very extensive Turkish burying ground at Scutari, and over Pera and Galata (Constantinople) by Lieut Gordon, R.E., afterwards the famous General Gordon of Khartoum, but then in no way a remarkable man. As already stated, I sat at the next desk to his brother at the R.M. Academy, at Woolwich. At Pera I called on the Admiral.

When we arrived at Balaklava the captain begged me to accompany him, to go and report the arrival of the vessel to Admiral Boxer (who had been Lord Nelson's coxswain), the Admiral of the Port. Boxer had the character of being a tartar, and the captain was nervous about his interview with him, and wanted me to "see him through with it." After being directed, several times, from one vessel to another

in the harbour, we at last found the Admiral on board the sailing ship *Orient*, and, being ushered into the cuddy, we found him at dessert, sipping sherry, and eating walnuts. He was very gracious, and invited us to take wine and coffee. We got back, out of the harbour, just before the chain was being placed across it for the night. The Admiral told us we should come into the harbour the next day, but should not land the horses, as they would be busy starting a secret expedition of three thousand men. This turned out to be the expedition to Kertch.

The 48th Regiment arrived this day, from Corfu. The next day the *Cambria* went into harbour, and I landed and went to the camp of Captain Thomas's troop, Royal Horse Artillery. He lent me a Spanish pony, on which I rode to the quarters of General Dacres. I called on Captain Brandling's troop, R.H.A., and other camps on the way; and passed the camp of the 10th Hussars, who had just arrived from India, and also some Turkish and Croats' camps. I found General Dacres, who commanded the whole of the artillery in the Crimea, and he took me to Headquarters and introduced me to Lord Raglan, the Commander-in-Chief. I returned to the ship, and saw the Highlanders, Rifles, and Artillery, embark for the secret expedition.

On the following day I landed, and rode to my camp, the headquarters of the right siege train, near the windmill, about five miles from Balaklava, and occupied the tent of a brother officer, who had been wounded in the last bombardment. I called on Brooke, 48th Regiment; Fitzgerald, 49th; Pack, 7th Fusiliers; and Anson, Rifle Brigade; but found none of them; and then called on Colonel Warde, commanding both siege trains. I dined at the mess of Captain Pennycuik's battery, and spent the evening with Captain Grant, R.A., in his tent. The day after, Pack, of the 7th Fusiliers, came to see me, and lent me a horse, and we rode over to headquarters, to see a review of the French cavalry. The leading cavalry regiment was preceded by its band, in front of which was its trumpet major, a little fat man with short legs. Alas! at the moment he was passing the French Field Marshal, his horse gave a plunge and a kick, and sent the poor little man flying over its head in front of all the French and English officers,

who were looking on. The Field Marshal exclaimed, "Ah Trompette Major! Trompette Major!" The poor fellow looked terribly crestfallen. The march past had to be stopped, for the little man to pick himself up and remount.

I dined one night at the camp of the Rifle Brigade, at Cathcart's Hill, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from my camp, with my cousin Augustus Anson. A few nights before, he was leaning against a sandbag in the trenches, when a round shot struck it, and carried it away. A little later, he was dining off a chicken, and, while he got up for a second for something, the chicken was also carried off by a round shot.

All concerned in the Kertch expedition were terribly disgusted at its failure, and it was said, in camp, that Marshal Canrobert tore out his hair with rage when he had to recall the expedition, and that Lord Raglan sent him a pot of pomatum to make it grow again.

On the 17th May the Sardinian troops arrived. I was riding to Balaklava shortly after, and found the Sardinians had encamped on the ground which I had, on former occasions, passed over on my way there, and I was stopped by a Sardinian sentry, who, when I came up to him, addressed me thus: "Sure ye can't pass this way." There could be no mistake as to where this man, in Sardinian uniform, had originated. I was not a little taken aback by this address. The Sardinian troops had a very smart appearance, much smarter than the French. They wore a light blue uniform.

I made my first acquaintance with the trenches by going down to them at 5 a.m., on the 12th May, when there were in them rivers of water halfway up to my knees, and the ground about a sea of slippery mud. There had been a heavier rain than there had been during the winter, and I had four inches of water in my tent. The men of the guard of the trenches were lying about asleep in the mud, in a terribly dirty state. They were in the trenches for twenty-four hours at a time, from 7 p.m. one night, to 7 p.m. the following night.

I and my subaltern rode as far as the entrance to the trenches, where we had to dismount, otherwise our heads would have become targets for the enemy in their rifle-pits. As we walked along, we met a party carrying a dead or dying

sailor, of the naval brigade, on a stretcher. He had got a bottle of rum the night before, and got drunk, and fallen asleep in the water.

As soon as I had relieved the artillery, who had been on duty during the night, and sent my party to their respective batteries, in the different parallels, I went down to visit the battery in the advanced trench, where there was a continual fire going on at our men in it, from the Russian rifle-pits. I returned to the first parallel, and joined a lieutenant of the navy, who was in command of a two-gun battery, who gave me some ship's cocoa that one of his men had cooked for him in an old tin pot, and he shared his breakfast with me, I having had none before leaving camp. Later, my servant came and brought me some provisions, off which my subaltern, the naval officer, and myself lunched, in the rain and mud. After this, I was resting in the entrance of an expense magazine, when I was suddenly roused by hearing a heavy thud, and being shaken, a shot or shell having lodged in the back of the magazine. Had it been a live shell, it would have been all up with the magazine and with me. I saw a French magazine blown up at Inkerman, very shortly after, in this way.

In the course of the afternoon, I received a written memorandum from my subaltern, from one of the advanced batteries, informing me that the enemy had opened a battery of 24-pounder guns, in front of our left attack, upon one of our advanced trenches, and had been pitching in shot and shell and killing and wounding several of our infantry; and that he had received a requisition to open fire upon them from his battery. I went down, meeting the wounded being brought up. In the battery I found a 24-pounder shot, that had come right through the parapet, wounded two men, and buried itself in the back of the trench, whence it had been dug out. My orders were very strict not to open fire, except under the most urgent circumstances, and finding that on the removal of the men from that part of the trench, where they had been visible to the enemy, the Russians had ceased firing, I declined to open fire. The object of the enemy, at that time, was to get us to fire, so as to ascertain the nature of the guns we had been arming our batteries with, since the last

bombardment. They were 8- and 10-inch, and 68-pounder guns, and 10-inch and 13-inch mortars. All of less calibre had been removed.

Every time I raised my head above the parapet, to locate a Russian battery, a ball from their rifle pits pinged past me.

Just before I was relieved, the enemy sighted a party of sappers, with white bands round their caps, close to where I was, in the right parallel, and fired three well directed shells at them. Although they burst close to us, and threw dirt over us, fortunately no one was hit.

At night the enemy frequently made a sortie, backed by a considerable force, and under cover of heavy firing of shot and shell. When they found we were on the alert, they retired with the loss of a few men. We also lost a few on our side. We seldom fired from our guns on these occasions, but there took place a very heavy rifle fire, on both sides. On one occasion the 23rd Regiment fired ninety rounds per man.

From the camp, two miles away, the rattle of the rifle fire, and the noise of the enemy's guns, could be plainly heard, and the light of their shells could be seen passing through the air. It appeared to those in the camp that the town, at least, must have been taken, but on asking an officer who had been on duty in the trenches during the night what had happened, he would say calmly, "Only a bit of a sortie."

During the second bombardment (before my arrival), which lasted nine days, the officers and men of the artillery were sixteen to seventeen hours on duty, out of the twenty-four, and were pretty well done up when it was over.

The British were much disgusted that the French would not assault, and that the bombardment was consequently of no use.

The Russians owned to having lost eight hundred men during the first thirty-six hours of the bombardment, so that, at the end of the nine days, their loss must have been considerable.

At last, I had a horse served out to me, a sorry beast without a bit of flesh on its bones, and just arrived from Spain. It had a hump back, like a camel, and was as obstinate as a mule. It had a great objection to leave its picket. I rode it one afternoon to the French camp, which

was near my camp, and also near the windmill, and then it took it into its head it would go no further, and the more I urged it, by spur and other aids, to go on, the more it went sideways and backwards until it returned to its picket. I felt foolish, under these circumstances, when in the middle of one of the French regimental camps, with the men looking at me. At my request, my old friend, Captain Chermside, R.A., sent me a pony from Constantinople. It was a better tempered beast than that which had been issued to me, but only safe to ride at a hand canter.

I paid a visit to my friend Sir John McNeill, who was camped near me. He was sent out as a commissioner, to inquire into the complaints about the commissariat, etc.

On the 17th May, Lord Raglan took General della Marmora, the Sardinian General, to visit our trenches.

There was much satisfaction in our army when Marshal Pelissier succeeded Marshal Canrobert in command of the French army.

The second and successful Kertch expedition started on the 21st May.

I had my first duel with the enemy on the 20th May. I was in command of the artillery on the right attack, when, about 4 p.m., the enemy commenced to fire with shot and shell on a working party in our 8-gun battery, from the Redan and from a low-lying battery between it and the Round Tower battery. As none of my batteries on that attack commanded the Redan, I sent information to the Naval Brigade 21-gun battery, and they fired at it from a 68-pounder smooth-bore and from a 68-pounder Lancaster elliptically bored gun, while I fired at the low-lying battery and the Mamelon from 13-inch mortars. The Russians replied to me with some well-directed shell, and then ceased firing.

The Russians ascertained the hours of our reliefs, and, although they could not see them, fired at them over the hill as they marched down to the trenches; so the reliefs were broken up into detached parties, with intervals between them.

One afternoon I rode over to see the site of the battle of Inkerman. The view from it was very pretty, and the ground covered with wild flowers, and the air was scented with wild

thyme. There were still many remains of the fight lying about.

The French were ordered one night to clear away the rifle-pits in front of their attack, which they succeeded in doing, with the loss of 1200 men, but at daybreak they found that they were enfiladed, and had to retire. Marshal Pelissier ordered that they should take them again the following night, and establish themselves by throwing up earthworks; and threatened that, should they not succeed, they should attack again at ten o'clock the next morning. However, they were successful, but not without the loss of 400 men. It was a coincidence that, on the first occasion, the Russians made a sortie at the same time on the French, and that both forces unexpectedly met, the Russians being the larger force.

The British had a cavalry review on the Queen's birthday, on the heights above Kerani, between that village and the monastery of St George: a charming situation, looking over to Eupatoria to the north; a little to the north-east, over Sebastopol; to the south, over Balaklava; and south-east, over the Tchernaya; and to the east, over the camps of the divisions of the English, French, and Turks. The Royal Horse Artillery were on the right of the line, on their left the cavalry and two field batteries, one an 18-pounder and the other a 32-pounder howitzer battery. The bands played "God save the Queen," and then there was a march past. Lord Raglan, Marshal Pelissier, and Omar Pasha (the Turkish commander-in-chief) were present, and rode together, followed by their respective staffs and about 200 or 300 officers of different regiments, mounted on sorry jades of sorts. The artillery and cavalry turned out well, and made a brilliant display.

The Zouaves established a theatre in their camp, and one night I attended a performance there. The scenery was well got up. The stage was covered over with two or three of the new pattern French tents. The audience sat in the open, on rows of banked earth, with their feet in the furrows from which the earth had been thrown up to form the banks. The whole enclosure was surrounded by a rough stone wall about 3 feet high, on the top of which, at intervals, were posted Zouaves in full dress, leaning on their rifles. The audience

within the enclosure consisted of about 300 French officers, including General Le Valliant, the General of the Zouaves. Outside the enclosure was a crowd of many hundreds of French soldiers of different regiments. I was not sufficiently acquainted with French to comprehend the many jokes which caused so much laughter. A drunken English soldier, in full uniform, was personated as one of the characters in the piece.

6000 French and most of our cavalry crossed the Tchernaya at 3 a.m. on the 24th May.

The cattle supplied to our troops came from Samsoum, Trebizond, and Smyrna. They were diminutive, and little more than skin and bone. The vessels in Balaklava Harbour were moored so close together, that when I went to seek for provisions, etc., on board, I was able to climb over the side of one vessel into another. I purchased, when foraging, a very lean sheep, weighing about 25 lbs., for 23s., and very lean fowls at from 6s. to 8s. a couple.

On the 16th May the company to which I belonged, under the command of Captain Hastings, and having with it two subalterns, Le Fer Taylor and Doyne, arrived at Balaklava. I went down there to meet them, and had the satisfaction of having a good dinner on board, which was a great treat after camp fare. The steamer was the *Gibraltar*, which plied usually with Spain, and in consequence had a supply of sherry on board, of which I secured a cask for the little mess which Taylor, Doyne, and I were going to start, when they should be camped on the left attack and I should have joined them.

Hastings did not join our mess, but messed by himself in his own tent. Our cask of sherry came up by the railway, which was just then under construction from Balaklava to the camp of the left attack, and the navvies had managed to draw off about one-third of the wine. The cask stood in the middle of our mess-tent, with the tent-pole resting on it, and a box on it, forming our dinner-table.

On the 17th of May a general order from Lord Raglan was issued, informing the Army of the success of the second expedition to Kertch, which was received with three cheers from the men throughout all the camps. From papers found at Kertch, it was ascertained that provisions were scarce in Sebastopol.

My company marched up from Balaklava in a heavy thunderstorm, and the men got wet through and all their baggage soaked. This might have been avoided had Colonel Warde made up his mind earlier to which attack it was to be attached. I was the second captain, and left the right attack and joined the company at the camp of the left siege-train on the 28th May.

The allies having taken possession of the Balaklava plain, which had been occupied by the Cossacks, and of the banks of the Tchernaya, those places became a favourite ride for officers off duty, of an afternoon. I rode over there one afternoon, and found them occupied by French and Sardinian regiments, and the top of a knoll overlooking the Tchernaya, to which I ascended, was occupied by the Sardinian Bersaglieri, with their hats with black cocks' feathers in them. I afterwards crossed the river, and found the ground covered with beautiful wild flowers, through which I rode up to my horse's knees. The view from the aqueduct near the river was very charming. I saw the Cossack picket not far off, and the Russians were firing from a battery at the French cavalry, who were watering their horses at the river.

On Wednesday, the 6th June, at 11.30 a.m., a sudden and unexpected order was issued, directing the officers of the left siege-train to meet the commanding officer at one of the huts at twelve o'clock, and half the men of that attack to parade at that hour. The Colonel informed us at the parade that a bombardment was to commence at 3 p.m. Each officer then received a memorandum indicating which battery he was to command, and short instructions relative to it. I was told off to the right centre mortar battery of four 13-inch mortars in the first parallel, with directions to fire on the Redan, the range being 1400 yards. Lieutenant Harris was given me as my subaltern.

The signal to commence the bombardment was to be a 13-inch sea-service mortar fired from the left British attack.

The artillery were divided into two reliefs, and the first relief marched off in detachments, with an interval between each.

At three o'clock the French, at their attack on the Inkerman side, commenced to fire on the Mamelon, and almost

immediately after our signal was given, and the fire from the four attacks (two British and two French) became general. Before the smoke and dust obscured the view, I saw the Mamelon so raked by shot and shell that one would have thought that a mouse could not have escaped being killed in it. It was a grand sight. In about ten minutes the enemy commenced to fire, and then there was a very lively time. At night I saw eight or ten 13-inch shells falling like a bunch of grapes into the Redan. Our fire was kept up all night; but the enemy, with the exception of an occasional shell, ceased firing at sunset. Between 3 p.m. and 1 a.m. I fired, from my battery alone, two hundred 13-inch shells into the Redan. I was relieved at 1 a.m. The heat had been 87 degs. in the trenches, and there was no shade; and that, with the smoke and dust, created an intense thirst, which it seemed impossible to allay, and my head ached, and my ears were deafened from the constant firing of the mortars close to me.

On the following day I was told off to No. 7 battery, of six 32-pounder guns, in the third, our most advanced parallel, and had Lieutenant Elton as my subaltern. It was about 300 yards from the enemy and had a cross fire from three batteries upon it. The parapet of the approach to it had been so levelled by the enemy's fire that my detachment had to proceed on all fours along some part of it to avoid the fire from the Russians' rifle-pits. No. 7 battery was distant from the enemy's batteries as follows: from the Upper Garden battery, 1170 yards; Garden Wall Point battery, 850 yards; Head of Creek battery, 850 yards; Barrack battery, 800 yards; battery at angle of Creek, 1200 yards. The enemy's rifle-pits were very close to my battery, and the noise of their rifle-balls over it was continuous. In less than ten minutes three of my men were knocked over by a round shot which entered one of the embrasures, and one of my gun detachments was completely disabled, and one embrasure blocked up with earth. We were kept in a cloud of dust from the enemy's shot striking the parapet and sending gabions and fascines flying about. At six o'clock I received an order to cease firing and to retire with my detachment to the first parallel, near the doctor's hut. When I reached it, I found every one there much excited, as the assault of the Mamelon, by the French, and that of the

Quarries, by the British, were about to take place. This was the reason why I had been ordered to cease firing and to retire.

Presently a tremendous cannonade commenced from all guns and mortars that could be brought to bear on the works to be attacked, and this lasted for about half an hour. Then I saw the French advance to the Mamelon, and pass through it, and advance to the Tower. The British then rushed over the advanced parapet, on the right attack, and charged the Quarries, and then passed on to attack the Redan. There they were met by a heavy fire of grape shot and from rifles, and were obliged to fall back on the Quarries, where they made themselves secure before night came on.

I stood on the banquette, looking over the parapet, near the doctor's hut, by the side of a lieutenant of the navy. Our heads were just above the parapet. Suddenly, my eye caught sight of something which made me duck my head, and the next instant a round shot just barely tipped the parapet, exactly where my head had been, and threw a little dust on me. My naval friend said, "I beg your pardon; I saw it coming, but I could not speak." I replied, "Thank you for nothing." I got back to camp at 11 p.m., and saw Lord Raglan and his Staff on the look-out hill as I passed.

The next day, I went down to the trenches again at 12 o'clock, to command a 10-inch mortar battery in the second parallel; with Lieutenant FitzHugh (later Major-General) as my subaltern. We fired these mortars all the day, except during the period of a flag of truce, which was agreed on with the enemy, to bury the dead. While the truce lasted, I walked out in the open ground between the second and first parallels, to look over towards the town, when a Russian, from their rifle pits, took a quiet pot-shot at me and I heard the ball strike near me.

The moment the truce came to an end, the Russians commenced a vigorous fire. They had been repairing their works all the time, and I had watched them doing so.

I was asked by an officer of the Line, when he was passing by my battery, whether, when a shell was fired, the powder was put in before the shell, or after it. He seemed puzzled to know how the fuze ignited, if the powder was put in behind

the shell. A general once asked an officer of the artillery to throw a few howitzers at the enemy. Howitzers being short guns, it was not likely that he should obey this order. But the officers of the artillery received so many extraordinary requisitions from generals and other officers in command, that they were authorized to decline to act upon them, but only on the understanding that they should report, to their own commanding officer, any requisition that had been made to them, and their reasons for not complying with it.

The day after the bombardment was over, I went over to our right attack, to ascertain how they had fared there. I visited Captain Mortimer Adye (the brother of the late Sir John Adye, who was for a time Governor of Gibraltar). He was lying on his bed in his tent, the colour of a boiled lobster, and covered over with flour and cotton wool. He had been filling a shell in his battery, when a Russian shell set fire to the powder he had in his hand, which exploded and burnt him severely. He looked a terrible object, with his hair and whiskers burnt; his face black, swollen, and blistered; his neck, chest, back of his hands and arms blistered. He told me to look into his "Joe bag" (Woolwich Academy name for dirty-clothes bag), which was hanging up, and examine the flannel shirt I should find in it. This I did, and found the shirt had been blown into strips. He seemed cheerful, and, wonderful to say, he recovered, and it was said that the effect of the blowing up was to remove the marks of smallpox with which he had been pitted.

It was anticipated that the bombardment would commence again so soon as the French should have completed the 18-gun battery, which they were constructing in the Mamelon.

In the meantime, we were busy getting up more shot and shell. The artillery loss, during the four days' bombardment, was only seventy men killed and wounded, but no officer.

The armament of the left siege-train consisted of one 18-inch sea service mortar, two 10-inch guns, twenty-one 8-inch guns, twenty-eight 32-pounders, eleven 10-inch mortars, fourteen 13-inch mortars; besides twenty-five guns (8-inch, 68-pounders, and 32-pounders) of the naval brigade.

The artillery of the left attack, during the four days' bombardment, fired, on an average, 250 rounds per mortar

and 600 rounds per gun, or a total of about 30,000 rounds. This was independent of the guns of the naval brigade in this attack. Besides these guns there were those of the French right and left attacks, and of our right attack.

The artillery earned great credit for the rapidity and effect of their fire.

My company's camp, which was on the extreme left of the left siege-train's camp, was only separated from the ravine down which was the naval brigade's camp by the broad road along which all the traffic of the left attack passed, and my tent was on the edge of that road and nearest to the naval camp.

A company of the Royal Marine Artillery, under Captain Alexander, came and encamped on our rear. The sailors were rather troublesome neighbours, and helped themselves to anything they got a chance of laying their hands on. They frequently came at night to sell us blue serge that had been issued to them, and which they wanted to convert into money.

On the 12th June, I rode over to the French right attack at Inkerman; and, leaving my horse in charge of a French soldier, walked into their trenches, from which I obtained a good view of their works against the Mamelon and Malakoff, and of the inner end of the harbour; as well as of the Russian men-of-war, which had just been placed so as to fire on the Malakoff Tower and the Redan, should those works be attacked. None of these places were visible to me from our left attack. Just as I got into the trenches, the Russians opened fire, with grape shot, from the angle of the Malakoff, on a French working party in rear of the Mamelon. The French returned the fire from a battery near where I was. I stood in a French battery, by the side of the French artillery officer in charge, looking over the parapet. As I was leaving the French trenches, Marshal Bosquet rode into them, accompanied by his Staff, and passed me, and their cocked hats and feathers, being observed, drew down the fire of the enemy on them.

On the 13th June, while on duty in the trenches, I received orders to fire, occasionally, on the town, from the 13-inch sea service mortar in the first parallel, the range of which pretty nearly commanded the whole of the south side of

the town and also of the wharf and landing place at the side of the harbour. There were in the town some handsome buildings, with shining copper roofs, which made attractive targets, or cockshies as we should have called them at school.

In working at a battery in the Mamelon, the French opened a hole in the parapet which the Russians had dug during the late bombardment, and into which they had thrown their killed, as they fell. It was large and appeared well filled.

An officer of the 34th Regiment purchased from a Zouave a handsome altar cloth, beautifully worked, which had been taken from the chapel in the Mamelon. The chapel was said to be very beautifully finished and furnished, but could not have been long built, as the Mamelon had not been long constructed. A priest was killed there, when leading on the soldiers. About fifteen years later, I met a Swedish doctor, in Mauritius, who had been in the Mamelon during the bombardment of it.

The Russian officers impressed on their men that the war was a religious war, to make them fight more zealously. They also spread a report that they had retaken Kertch, and also that we were short of provisions; so that during the flag of truce the Russian soldiers were surprised to see our men eating bread.

Just at dark, on the evening of the 13th, when I was in command of the R.A. in the trenches of the left attack, I received an order to fire carcasses on the town from the 8-inch guns, No. 11 battery, in the second parallel, and from the 10-inch mortar battery in the third parallel. I sent a subaltern to the mortar battery, and took charge of No. 11 myself. I could only fire from four of the guns, as the embrasures of the other four had been so injured in the late bombardment as to render the guns temporarily unserviceable. However, about 10 p.m. I commenced to fire, and immediately set fire to something, at a distance of about 1400 yards, which lighted up a good blaze. This I increased by rapidly firing more carcasses, and when I saw the enemy trying to extinguish the fire, I stirred it up with a few 68-pounder shot and 8-inch shells. By the light from the carcasses I could see men trying to kick them away from where they fell. The carcasses

set the dogs barking furiously. At 1 a.m. I was relieved by a detachment commanded by my old friend and schoolfellow, Captain Charles Smith. While he was in the act of relieving me, the enemy commenced to shell my battery with some well-directed shells. One of the shells dropped close to us, and we slipped round the traverse, and I gave Smith a push into the entrance of a small expense magazine, on the floor of which he fell, and I tripped and fell on the top of him. Then I said to him, "Well, Charley, what would your mother say if she saw us now?" She used to have us out from school, at Woolwich, on Saturdays and Sundays. In the meantime the shell burst, but did no damage. The enemy continued to fire until 4 a.m., after I had been relieved and returned to camp.

I visited Cathcart's Hill in the afternoon of the following day, and saw the buildings I had set fire to still smoking.

The French were stated to have employed 40,000 men, including their reserve, in taking the Mamelon, and it was further stated that their losses were proportionally heavy.

When Lord Raglan asked Marshal Pelissier to go on with the attack, when the Mamelon was taken, he replied, "*Les guerriers sont fatigués.*" They had not been engaged more than three hours. Our men had been engaged quite as long, in taking the Quarries, without being fatigued.

At midnight, on the 17th June, the officers of the R.A. left siege-train met at the colonel's hut, and were informed that a bombardment would commence at 3 a.m. I was again told off to the 13-inch right centre mortar battery, first parallel, to fire on the Redan. At 3 a.m. the French and ourselves commenced to fire, and the fire was quickly returned by the enemy, and I had shot and shell flying over my battery incessantly.

While I was standing, with two of my men, at the end of the traverse which separated two of the mortars from the other two, to give directions to the man at the expense magazine as to the charge and the length of fuse, a 42-pounder shot struck the front part of the traverse, and knocked down four sand-bags and a gabion full of earth, which fell over me and threw me down. It also sent a quantity of dust flying about, with which I was nearly choked. As soon as I could

get clear and recover my breath, which had been completely knocked out of me, and knew where I was, I went in under the parapet and shook myself. One of the men said, "A near shave that, sir." The two men who had been standing one on each side of me were both injured by stones out of the parapet. A few minutes later the mortar nearest the traverse was fired, and, from the concussion, out fell the white-painted 42-pounder shot, just where my back had been. The Russians shelled us well, and pieces of their shells were flying about in all directions, and accounted for the loss of two of my men, of whom I lost six or seven, and had, in consequence, to cease firing from one of my mortars.

The following day, after dining, about 3.30, I rode over to the right attack to see that my cousin, Augustus Anson, Rifle Brigade, and Fitzgerald, 49th, were safe, and then looked up the 68th and 63rd regiments. I was in the trenches again at midnight, in the same battery, and firing at the Redan.

That night an order came round, informing us that the French would assault the Malakoff Tower at 3 a.m., and that the British were to assault the Redan. At 3.30 a.m. I saw, through the half-light, that the French had commenced the assault of the Malakoff, and shortly after, the signal went up for our assault on the Redan. I then saw our men rush out of our advance at the *Quarries*, but the smoke and dust soon became so thick that it completely obscured the view. When it cleared, I saw the Russians standing on the top of the parapet of the Redan, firing down on our men; and our sailors, who carried the bundles of hay to throw into the ditch, and the men with the scaling ladders, lying about killed or wounded, on the ground in front of it. The officers and men of the naval brigade battery next to mine mistook the Russians on the parapet for our men, and were about to give them a cheer, when I pointed out to them that the direction of the fire was outwards, on our men. The Russians poured a murderous fire of case and grape shot, and from rifles, on our men. We found out afterwards that they had placed two field guns in the ditch of the Redan, from the fire of which our men suffered severely. Had I been informed of this, I could have dropped a few 13-inch shells into the ditch, instead of into the work itself; but we never received any information,

or orders, during either of the two bombardments I was engaged in.

While the assault was going on, we had, of course, to cease firing, to avoid causing casualties among our own men, but as soon as the attempt at assault was over we fired shells briskly into the Redan, where the enemy were massed, in anticipation of a further assault. I heard afterwards that the enemy were observed, from our advance, to be blown up by sections by these shells. There should have been a much heavier and more continuous fire on the Redan before the assault was made. Our men had to retire, with severe loss.

In the meantime the French, who had succeeded in getting into the Malakoff, which they held for about twenty minutes, had been driven out, principally by the fire of the Russian men-of-war in the harbour, which was very heavy. They had assaulted with 24,000 men.

General Eyre had, during this time, taken the cemetery with the 18th and 44th regiments; but, finding that we had failed at the Redan, he did not push on. He was wounded. He and his men found that they were unable to retire, as, in attempting to do so, they would be exposed to a very heavy rifle fire. They had taken refuge in the houses where they were, and these houses had only just been vacated by the inhabitants; and they found a quantity of spirits in them, on which many of them got drunk. They could not leave the houses, and they were heard shouting to one another, from house to house, asking how they were getting on, and whether they had plenty to drink. They could not be attacked by the enemy, as they would have come under a heavy fire from us had they left their works. The loss of our men had been considerable, and the wounded could not be removed until the truce, about thirty hours later. The wounded could be seen dragging themselves forward for about half a yard, and then dropping down again.

We were unable to assault a second time, as the French had not taken the Malakoff, which commanded the Redan, and Marshal Pelissier would not assault it again.

Our loss was 85 officers and 1412 men killed and wounded, besides the 40 officers and 600 men the week before. The dead, when brought in, were so altered, from the sun and partial decomposition, that in most cases they could be

recognized only by such part of their clothes, generally only a shirt, as the Russians left on them. This was the case with Colonel Yea, of the 7th Fusiliers. We ceased firing at 11.30. After I had ceased firing, the officers in the next batteries came to me to ask what they had better do. I said, "The game is up for to-day, and I have ceased firing, and recommend you to do the same."

The officers and men were confined to their camps during the truce for burying the dead, but two officers, on duty in the trenches, went down to the cemetery end of the town, and met some Russian officers, who said, "The general who planned the assault on the Redan must have been mad or drunk to have supposed he could take it with a few hundred men. You ought to have made a general attack, and kept us all employed." They also said our men had fought splendidly, and that our artillery was first-rate, and that was the reason they were unable to respond to our fire.

We attacked the Redan, nominally, with 300 men, but, actually, not more than 40 or 50 men were assaulting at one time. No orders were given. The trench was too narrow for the men to pass one another, and there were no places to sally out from; and the men were not allowed to go over the parapet, consequently they could get to the front only a few at a time. The captain of a company would lead on some 40 or 50 of his men, and, being repulsed, another would advance in the same way. There was no order kept, and the men of different regiments were jumbled together. Two regiments, it was reported, refused to follow their officers to the front. From want of orders, our second reserve was never brought up. One regiment was said to have shot 14 or 15 of our own men.

Our generals did nothing. Lord Raglan (this I had from one I could trust, and who was with him) was in the eight-gun battery, on the right attack, with his Staff, and never gave an order, or did anything but look disgusted, and go home to his camp, when he saw the assault had failed. Two hundred sailors had been sent on to the front, with bundles of hay and scaling ladders, and they, of course, were all knocked over. I saw them myself.

After I had ceased firing, I went to the doctor's hut, near

my battery, in the first parallel. This hut was only an oblong hole in the ground, about eight feet by six feet, covered with canvas, and had a small rough table in it, and a few powder cases for seats. It was the place where the wounded were brought to the doctor, to be patched up, before being sent on to camp. It was also made a sort of headquarters for the left attack. Just after I had got there, an aide-de-camp came and asked, "Where is Lord Raglan?" Some one replied, "Lord Raglan? he has gone home to tiffin." Then the A.D.C. said, "If he has gone home to tiffin, my chief [a general] is sure to have gone, too, so I'll be off;" and so ended the fourth bombardment, and the assault on the Redan, on the 18th June, Waterloo Day.

Orders had been given to the mounted cavalry patrols not to allow Lord Ward to pass through their lines during the armistice, and General Sir George Brown had not allowed him to land at Kertch.

I went to see Major Pack, of the 7th Fusiliers, who had been wounded at the assault of the Redan. He had been lame for years, and a ball had gone through his lame leg, just at the top of the calf, and he had fallen into a hole made by the bursting of a shell. I found him in a hut, in half of which, divided off by a canvas screen, was his brother officer, poor Major Mills, suffering from cholera. I also visited Mundy, of the 33rd, who had had a ball through his thigh. He was unlucky, having only recently recovered from a wound caused by a piece of a 13-inch carcass, fired from one of our own batteries. I had seen him the day after he had been so injured, and he pointed to his arm in a sling, and said, "It was one of you d——d fellows who did it," meaning the artillery. I had been firing carcasses, but had myself been most careful to see that, in loading, each carcass was placed so that the holes of the carcass were well to the front, and none of my carcasses had burst. They were very old carcasses, and the composition had shrunk, and left a space between it and the inner side of its iron shell, causing some of them, which probably had not been carefully placed in the mortars, to burst and scatter pieces from the mouth of the mortar.

We at one time ran out of 13-inch shells, and borrowed some from the French. They were barely up to the calibre

of our mortars, and were badly cast, with a thickening at their base, which acted like the bias of a bowl, and their line of flight could not be depended on; and some of the shells fell into our advanced works. I watched the flight of mine with much trepidation, and one or two of them fell just in front of the parapet of our advance, at the Quarries, instead of in the Redan.

During the bombardment, the temperature ranged from 92 degs. to 100 degs. in the shade, but there was no shade in our trenches, and a very heavy dew fell at night. When the sun went down, I was as wet through as though I had sat in a bucket of water. There were 52 men, out of 120, sick in my company. The water we had to drink was very impure. I went to see the pool from which ours was obtained. All sorts of people were dipping for it, and water buffaloes were wallowing in it; and it was thick with mud. The flies swarmed, and were an intolerable nuisance. They came off dead animals, and all sorts of filth. There was the early morning fly, who bit hard when one was undressed; and other sorts, that relieved one another at different hours of the day. In our mess tent, which was at the edge of the roadway, where all the traffic passed, we were obliged to eat with a plate on the top of that in which was our food; and just to lift this top one, for a second, and grab at something in the lower one, and cover it up again, in order to keep the dust and flies off its contents. By way of combining business and amusement, of which latter there was very little, we laid trains of gunpowder round the tent pole, on our mess table, and then covered it with sugar, and when the flies settled on it, blew them up. "Revenge is sweet," and so, in this way, the flies discovered.

Another nuisance from which we suffered was the smoke from burning the rubbish of the camps, the fire from which was always smouldering.

On the 23rd June, about 9.30 o'clock, there was a tremendous thunderstorm, with continuous lightning. It kept principally about the hills, but the rain at Balaklava was so heavy that the water was some feet deep in places, and many men were carried away and drowned. It rained only some very large drops at my camp, for a few minutes, but not sufficient

to wet our tents all over; but about a quarter of a mile off, on the other side of the ravine, where the naval brigade were, it was very heavy, and the water ran down the ravine, about 100 yards away, with great force, and one of the men of my company was drowned in it. He had no business there, and it was believed he was drunk. I had anticipated rain, as I had observed two waterspouts out at sea, to the north of Sebastopol, during the afternoon.

At the end of June, it seemed that we should soon be without generals. Sir G. Brown was ill, Pennyfeather gone home, Sir J. Campbell killed, Eyre wounded, Estcourt dead, etc.

Lord Raglan died at 9 p.m. on Thursday, the 25th June. As I passed headquarters the day after, I saw about 120 officers attending the sale of poor General Estcourt's effects, outside the building in which the body of Lord Raglan lay. The sale of Lord Raglan's things took place on the 3rd July. His remains were removed from headquarters to Karachi, close to Kamiesch, to be shipped to England, on that day. All officers, except those ordered to attend the procession, which I witnessed in the distance from my camp, were confined to camp, in case the enemy should take advantage of their absence to make an attack. The procession was accompanied by both British and French, but by more of the latter, as it passed through their lines on its way to the port.

I was riding down to Balaklava on the 7th July, when I was overtaken by Captain (later Admiral Sir Henry) Keppel of the *St Jean D'Acre*. Seeing that I was an artillery officer, he asked me if I knew anything about a gun carriage which had been ordered for the purpose of removing the remains of Sir Robert Newman from Balaklava to Cathcart's Hill, which removal he, as a friend of the family, was to superintend. I told him that I belonged to the siege-train, and therefore knew nothing about the gun carriages of the field batteries. He then asked me to show him the way to Balaklava. I told him I was going there, and should be pleased if he would accompany me. This he did; and when we came near the famous plain of the Balaklava Charge, away he went full gallop, on a fresh and very fidgety black mare that he had just landed at Kamiesch Bay, and had a charge all to himself, and rejoined me very much out of breath. He was to take over

the command of the naval brigade from Captain Lushington, the next day, so I took the opportunity of giving him a few hints about the priggish habits of my neighbours in the sailors' camp. But I don't think he was the man to interfere in the matter. At all events, we found no change after he took over the command. He told me that Newman's sisters were anxious to have his remains removed to the cemetery at Cathcart's Hill, and to erect a monument over them there. He also told me that he had the medal for China, but was not going to wear it for so trumpery an affair as the fighting in China had been. He seems, however, to have changed his mind later on this subject.

A company of the Royal Marine Artillery, under Captain Alexander, came to be camped next to my camp, on the left of it.

About this time, almost every one was complaining of a disordered stomach, and wrapped round that part of him with a red comforter. If he were offered any refreshment other than brandy and water, he would tap that part of him covered by the red comforter and mutter, "Dare not."

Among the friends with whom I dined, and who dined with me, were Colonel Lys and Lieutenant Brooke, 48th; Lieutenant Fitzgerald, 49th; Captain DuCane, R.E.; Augustus Anson, Lieutenant, Rifle Brigade; Major Pack, 7th Fusiliers.

A French zouave was one day passing my tent, when I hailed him, and offered him a "petit verre de cognac," which he very readily accepted; and instead of, as the British soldier would have done, tossing it off, saluting, and walking off, he stood at the entrance of my tent slowly sipping it and telling me all the gossip of the French camp. He told me that on one occasion in Algiers the zouaves had stolen General Bosquet's food.

I was walking past a naval battery in the trenches, in the first parallel, left attack, when on duty there one day, when one of the sailors caught a lizard. "The beggar's a spy," said one. "Let's try the beggar," said another. So they held a court-martial on it, and found it guilty and condemned it to death. Then said one, "Let's hang the beggar," so they set to work and made a gallows and hanged it. Then said one, "Let's bury the beggar." A grave was dug, and,

with caps off, it was buried. "Now," said one, "let's fire a salute over the grave." So they melted down some rifle bullets into a leaden gun, and fired this rather dangerous piece of artillery over the grave, and so ended the lizard spy.

When, on another occasion, visiting my gun detachments in the advanced batteries, I saw what appeared to be an artillery officer. He had on the undress blue frock-coat with brass epaulettes, and was standing conspicuously, in the open, between the first and second parallels. I went a little further on and came across the colonel of the 77th regiment, who was the officer in command of the infantry for the day, in the left attack. He held out a paper to me and said, "What do you think of that?" I read it, and found that it was a telegram that had just been sent down to the *Quarries* in the left attack (where the telegraph was), informing him that there was believed to be a spy about. I then said, pointing to the man I had noticed, "Won't that do for you." He immediately became excited, and called out, "Here, sergeant, bring a rifle." I suggested that before he fired at him it would be better to ascertain that he was not one of our artillery officers, and that he was a spy. Then he cooled down, and sent to have him brought to him. I had to go on, but, as I returned, I heard he had proved to be a spy, and had been sent to headquarters. I don't know what was done to him.

Another time a spy was discovered in one of the camps and chased. As the chase continued, an adjutant of a regiment turned out of his tent, and took the lead in it. Some of those who commenced the chase lost sight of the spy, and, coming up with the English officer, mistook him for their quarry, and hustled and hammered him pretty severely, and would not believe his statement as to who he was until he was recognized by some of his regiment.

I once noticed some sailors of the naval brigade following and shadowing some one passing along the battery I was in and looking very suspiciously at him. I happened to know that it was an Englishman of some importance, visiting the trenches, but I had some difficulty in getting the men to believe me. I think they felt disappointed of their prey, and did not like to give it up.

There was a French corporal on the staff of the French

Field Marshal who was constantly with the officers of our headquarters staff. He had a light blue uniform, with two corporal's stripes on his arm. He was a French marquess, and, I was told, ran horses at Doncaster.

On the afternoon of the 22nd July I suffered from a sharp pain about my ankles. I rode over to Du Cane at headquarters, but had much pain all the time. In the evening I dined with Augustus Anson at the mess of the Rifle Brigade, at Cathcart's Hill; a parting dinner, as he was about to go home, on promotion, the following day. Tottenham, and one or two others, were there. I had to rest my feet on a copper-lined powder case under the table during dinner.

The next morning I saw the R.A. doctor, Fogo, and he said I was suffering from erysipelas, and placed me on the sick list. The temperature was 96 degs. in the shade, with a sirocco wind.

On the 26th I was very unwell, headache, pains in the eyes, and a feeling of all-overishness. Friday, 27th, spent a dreadful day in my tent, with headache and pain in the eyes, and the dreadful sun's rays penetrating the thin canvas of the tent. Later I became very ill with congestion of the liver and fever, and the common Crimean disorder, and suffered great pain. Then came a terrific rain and wind, and my tent leaked like a sieve, part of it came down, and the floor was a mass of mud. I lay in my bed, under a waterproof sheet, which held a pool of water. Fires could not be lighted for cooking, and the mess kitchen, a hole in the ground, was full of water. My soldier servant, who was also cook, was a mass of mud and not odorous. The men in their tents suffered terribly.

On the 30th I was still very ill, and had been physicked with castor oil, calomel, Dover's powder, rhubarb, chloroform, peppermint, and opium, and had had a mustard plaster on my stomach. I could not eat anything. My servant came into my tent with a most uninviting piece of pale pink raw beef, of the leanest description, and said, "Try a bit of this ere beef." Of course, he meant when it should be cooked. On my declining it, he said, "Try a 'ard-biled hogg." This I also declined. Then he remarked, "If you don't heat ye'll die." This was consolatory and sympathetic. I had then eaten scarcely anything for a week.

On 4th August I was in general orders for sick leave to Scutari (opposite Constantinople) until the 5th September.

When in bed, at 10 a.m. on the following day, I received intimation that I was to sail from Balaklava at 4 p.m., on board the sailing vessel *Orient*. The ambulance cart attached to the siege-train hospital had been sent to Balaklava for hospital stores, so I could not have that. Then the doctor wrote to a field battery to try to borrow one for me, but that battery had not had one issued to it. So I was in a difficulty as to how to get to Balaklava by 4 p.m. Then I got the doctor to write to the ambulance corps, on the other side of the hill; but they wrote back to say that all their carts and waggons were engaged to take men down to Balaklava, but that I could have a mule with the new ambulance beds, one on each side like the French. These beds consisted of a light iron-stretcher, which could be used either flat as a bed or folded like a reclining chair, which was the position I adopted. I reclined in one of these stretchers on one side of the mule, and was balanced by some of my baggage on the stretcher on the other side. The conductor was a paddy from Tipperary, and the mule was a confirmed stumbler, and its constant stumbling shook every joint in my body and added greatly to the pain I was suffering. The conductor did not know the way, and I was, in consequence, two hours in reaching Balaklava. I was strapped in, and when the mule stumbled, I felt that it must be all up with me. By the time I reached Balaklava my back and neck were quite stiff, and remained so for some days. Going down hill was the most trying.

When I arrived at the Ordnance wharf, the only boat there belonged to a Greek, whose language was so disgusting that I declined to engage it. Work for the day having ceased, there was no one about, except the sentry, and no other boat to be seen; and I had just made up my mind that I should have to lie down on the wharf, and pass the night there, when Captain Barry, R.A., who had been a subaltern in my battery, at Leith Fort, came alongside in a boat, which I was able to hire, and go off in, to Transport No. 78, the sailing ship, *Orient*. When I got on board, I went below, to see the berth I was to occupy, and found it had no bedding, nothing in fact but the bare boards at the bottom. The steam tug came to

tow the vessel out of harbour, and, as my servant had not arrived with the rest of my things, I asked to be put ashore. When I got there, a sentry of the guards told me that a servant had gone off to the *Orient*. By this time I was quite exhausted, and ready to drop from weakness; but managed to get off again in a boat, and, in the middle of the harbour, met Brooke, of the 48th, who told me he had seen my servant looking for me in the harbour. At last I found him, and then went on board H.M.S. *Triton*, to see Captain Heath, R.N., the transport officer, to ask for a passage by the *Severn*, due to sail in a day or two, as the *Orient* had gone out of harbour. Captain Heath was not there, but an officer told me that the *Orient* had not sailed, and that I should be in plenty of time, as she was to be towed down to Scutari by the Cunard steamer *Cambria*, which was then lying about a mile outside, with the *Orient* astern. The *Cambria* was the steamer I had gone out in, so I pulled out to her, and hailed the captain, and asked him if he could give me a passage. This he most kindly agreed to do, and sent the purser to me, who was most kind, and helped me up the gangway ladder. Nothing could exceed the kindness of the captain and purser, and as General Lockyer did not come on board, the cabin reserved for him was given to me.

About 8 p.m. we steamed off with the *Orient* in tow, and how I did enjoy a decent cup of tea and a piece of good toast. I asked for some soda-water, and the steward said there was none on board; but the purser came to me afterwards and said, "The fact is, we have so little soda-water on board, that if it were known there was any, it would all be gone immediately; but tell me how much you would like, and it shall be sent to your cabin."

About 11 p.m., I heard the orders, "Port! hard-a-port! Stop her!" repeated very sharply, and, looking over the side of the vessel, saw a large dark object close to us. The night was very dark. It was a large steamer, without any light, which crossed our bows. Having a large vessel in tow, we had to go ahead again very quickly, or that vessel would have been into our stern. The result was that the sudden strain on the two towing hawsers, snapped them, and we took a long time picking up the *Orient*, and making fast to her again.

We anchored off Scutari about mid-day, on the 8th August. I did not land until 5 p.m. the following day, and then had to walk from the ship to the Haidar Pasha Hospital (an old summer palace of the Sultan, but seldom used by him) up to my ankles in mud and water; for there had been a heavy thunderstorm, as we came down the Bosphorus, the day before.

I was quartered in a large room (part of the harem of the palace), with two others. All the windows had wooden barred gratings. There was an officers' mess, at which we were charged one shilling a head. Light wine was served out of very large tin watering-pots with long spouts. My two companions in hospital were, Lieutenant Charles Steele, of the 12th Lancers, who was ill on arriving at the Crimea, and did not land, and Assistant-Surgeon Sherlock, of the 7th Dragoons, who had come down invalided from the Crimea. Sherlock was a curious fellow, from near Mallow, in County Cork. However, he was very kind and useful to me, for although I repeatedly sent for a doctor, none came to me for three days. They did not know there was a ward upstairs, although their mess-room was on the same floor, and our room had been their mess-room, and the chaplain's room was opposite ours. I had a small medicine chest, and Sherlock prescribed from it for me. When he left, Steele and I, who were both ill in bed, and remained so until we were invalided home, were the only occupants of the ward; and the only people we saw were the doctor, when he paid his official visits, our two servants (mine a gunner, and Steele's a Highlander, told off to look after him), and one or two friends who looked in on us, for a few minutes, on their way through Scutari. One of these, Captain Hoste, R.A., on his way home invalided, had got it into his head he was going to die, and entrusted me with some things to deliver to his friends in England. He, however, lived to marry twice afterwards. He informed me that Captain Oldfield, R.A., who had been in command of the left siege-train, off and on, for a considerable period, had been killed by a rifle ball during the fifth bombardment. Oldfield was always foolhardy, and would stand and look over the parapet of the third parallel as coolly as possible, although, if one placed a cap on a stick, and raised it over the parapet, it was pretty sure to get riddled by

rifle balls. He was rather fond of trying to get others to do the same thing, when there was no occasion for it. He tried this one day with me, and the rifle bullets at once came pinging and mewing about our heads. I told him I preferred making my observations in the haze of the morning, or dusk of the evening. He smiled and came down, and said, "They can't hit me; I have never got a scratch yet, and always go across the open." I had known several officers and men killed, when unnecessarily exposing themselves.

Hoste also told us that 600 Russian prisoners had arrived, and that Henry, of the artillery, who had just been promoted brevet-major, had had his arm taken off at the shoulder, and his life was despaired of.

Captain Harrison, to whom I had been speaking in camp just before I was taken ill, and who had been the officer in charge of the cadets of the Practical Class in the Royal Arsenal when I was there, came down invalided to Scutari, and died there.

Our room was inundated with locusts, which had to be swept out every morning.

There was a mosque across the court, just opposite our windows; and from the minaret the priest came out at the stated hours, and called the faithful to prayers. Our men on guard would then call out to him, "Bono Johnny" (the usual salutation between the English soldier and the Turks), to which he would reply in the same terms, and then bow and retire.

My hospital diet consisted of indifferent arrowroot, made with water; puddings of hard baked rice or of sago, of very inferior quality, the eggs in them being of very doubtful freshness, and without milk. Turkish fowls of any age, killed in the morning, and mere skin and bone. Turkish mutton, killed in the morning, and very tough and indifferent. One plain biscuit a day was supplied by the kindness of Lady Stratford de Redcliffe, the wife of our Ambassador. While I was in hospital, the village of Greek Town, or Kadekoi, close by, was burnt down. The houses were all of wood. The inhabitants sat among the ruins smoking and sleeping, and made no efforts for themselves.

While lying in bed one morning, my attention was

attracted to a lump of bread on the floor, which appeared every now and then to move a short distance along the floor. This continued, and I was beginning to think that my mind was rambling from weakness, when, at last, I discovered a little hand appearing through the joints of the floor, and that a rat was trying to get at the bread.

A report reached us, on the 6th September, that the Malakoff had been taken by the French, with the loss of 3017 killed and wounded. They would have lost that number in about fifteen days at ordinary trench duty, for they were so close to the Malakoff, that they were losing about two hundred men a day.

On the 8th September, I received my orders to go on board the steam transport *Imperatrix*, which was to tow the sailing transport *Sir George Pollock* to Malta. I left the hospital for the landing-place, on the Bosphorus, in an araba. The araba was a covered carriage, without springs, which jolted horribly over a very rough road. The entrance to this carriage was an elliptical opening, without a door, through which I had to scramble, and when the carriage jolted, my head knocked against the roof. It was not a pleasant experience, after several weeks in bed. At the landing-place, I obtained a caique, which took me to the steamer. The caique is a very crank boat, and when I arrived alongside the steamer, in the excitement of the moment, I forgot my weakness, and foolishly and ignorantly placed my foot on the gunwale, and gave a spring to get on to the foot of the ship's ladder, with the result that I pushed the light caique from under me, and succeeded only, with an-exhausting effort, in falling flat on my face on the lower part of the ladder. Had it not been for the ship's quartermaster, who saw my danger, I should have slipped back into the Bosphorus. He ran down and seized me by the back of the neck of my coat, and dragged me up the ladder like a sack, and threw me flat down on the deck. The military officer in command on board said to me the next day, "I did not think much for your chance of life, when I saw you come on board."

I had had much difficulty in getting the caique man to take me and my baggage on board, as it was blowing heavily, and he agreed to do so, at last, only on my agreeing to pay

him four times his proper fare. It cost me 14s. 6d. to get from the hospital to the steamer, owing to neglect on the part of the authorities, who should have made the necessary arrangements for me to go on board, free of cost. The whole distance was not more than about two miles.

It was wonderful how quickly all the officers, with one exception, recovered health and strength during the voyage, with good air and good food. We all got ravenous, and almost scrambled for our food, at dinner, as the dishes got empty. The craving for pickles, and the quantity of them we got through, was amazing.

On the 16th September we arrived at Malta, where, at the club, I saw in the *Gazette* my promotion to first captain.

We left some officers at Malta, who purposed to go home *via* Marseilles, and this enabled me to obtain a small cabin to myself.

CHAPTER VIII

SERVICE AT HOME

(1855-1857)

I ARRIVED at my house at 6, Bedford Villas, Croydon, on the 1st October; and went before a medical board, at Woolwich, on the 5th, and obtained two months' sick leave.

On arrival in England, I had found that my company was under orders for Mauritius. I went therefore to see Sir Hew Ross, the Adjutant-General of Artillery, and asked him whether some appointment could not be found for me at home. He told me to go and see the Deputy-Adjutant-General at Woolwich, and say to him that he had sent me to see if he could find some appointment for me. This I did, and in consequence on the 17th of October, before I was up in the morning, I received an official letter stating that it was necessary to relieve Captain McCrea, from the recruiting service, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and that I was to proceed there without delay, and take over the duty from him. I abandoned my leave, and arrived at Newcastle the following morning. I found McCrea (who, when we were cadets, had thrashed me for not getting him a pork-pie from the confectioner's cart, when there was no pork-pie to be had) in a very nice well-furnished house, in Eldon Street, which I took over from him. The reason for removing him appeared to be that he had sent direct to Lord Panmure, the Master-General of the Ordnance, a suggestion for a new system of recruiting, instead of sending it through the Adjutant-General of Artillery. I was instructed to carry out his proposed system, and to report on it. The proposal was to establish a dépôt, where recruits could be lodged and massed, while waiting to be sent to headquarters, instead of billeting them at public-houses. For this purpose, and as an office, I hired accommodation in Pilgrim Street. I

had recruiting parties out in Northumberland and Durham; and took over recruits from the militia, at Sunderland.

The people in the neighbourhood were exceedingly hospitable, and among those in whose houses my wife and I stayed were, the Bradford Atkinsons, of Angerton; Mrs Mitford, of Mitford Castle; the Ogles, of Kirkly; the Ordes, of Nunny Kirk (whose uncle owned the famous racer "Beeswing"); the Cooksons, of Meldon; the Bells, of Woolsington; the Blacketts, of Matfen; the Bakers, of Elimore, in Durham; and the Maltbys, of Eaglescliffe, near Yarm. Mr Maltby was the son of the Bishop of Durham, and was the rector of Eaglescliffe.

Mr Baker, of Elimore, had been the owner of the race-horse "The Chicken," which he had sold to a man named Cooke, who was murdered by his friend Dr Palmer, of Rugeley, in connection with the racing of this horse. For this Palmer was hanged.

The war having come to an end, recruiting at Newcastle was stopped; and, early in 1857, I was ordered to proceed to Athlone, to take command of Z field battery, the captain of which, Major Milman, was doing duty as brigade-major at Aldershot.

The morning after my arrival at Athlone, I went to the barracks, and met my second captain and my subaltern, and then commenced to inspect the stables, etc. I began with the officers' stable, and their two riding horses were brought out. They were very groggy on their forelegs, and had been clipped up to the flaps of their saddles, and had evidently been pretty hardly ridden in the hunting field. I was accompanied by the staff of the battery, the sergeant-major, quartermaster-sergeant, farrier-major, collar makers, etc. I said, "Farrier-major, let these horses be put on bran." I saw a look pass between the captain and subaltern, which might be interpreted, "No more hunting for us."

I found everything in a very bad state: horses not groomed, and several with mange or farcy had to be destroyed. The forage was very bad in quality, the harness not properly fitted, and the battery was being drilled in accordance with the instructions in a drill book that had been obsolete for two years.

There was a frightful amount of drunkenness among the men ; and they used to go about the town at night, shouting.

I had so many defaulters on one occasion that, to enable me to take the battery out in the morning, I had to hold an orderly-room at eight o'clock at night. For this I was called to account from headquarters, in Dublin, where it was assumed that I had been absent or amusing myself, and had neglected to go to my office in the morning.

I had to turn up my cuffs and teach the N.C. officers how to groom, that they might, in their turn, teach the drivers ; and I took charge of the riding squad, at six o'clock in the morning, to teach the roughrider how to drill it.

The sergeant-major was a good man, but a poor creature ; and there was no getting rid of him. The subaltern had been only four months in the service. The collar makers had turned their shop into a quarter for one of them, and did very little work. The traces were all sorts of lengths, and I ordered them to make them pairs of the same length. They said they did not know how to do it. I ordered them to rip the leather off them, and when that was done, I said, " Now make them both the same length, and if you can't do it, I shall report you as unfit for your appointment." It was then very soon done.

Months afterwards, and when I had left the battery, and was at Mauritius, they tried to have their revenge ; for I had a charge made against me, for several pounds, for so many yards of rope for traces, which it was stated I had ordered to be made too short. To this charge I objected, on the ground that I had marched from Athlone to Clonmel, and had not had a single " tread," and that Sir Richard Dacres, who had commanded the whole of the artillery in the Crimea, and was then in command of the artillery in Ireland, after having specially tested the driving of the battery, complimented me on it. I don't think the officer who took over the battery from me had had much experience of field battery work, and allowed himself to be imposed upon.

I worked hard, night and day, to get the battery into good order. In April, about a month after I had taken it over, Colonel Gambier, who commanded the artillery in the Dublin district, which included Athlone, came to inspect it. On his

arrival, I told him I was afraid he would not find it in a satisfactory state, but that I had been working, as hard as I dared, to improve it, and that were I to put another turn of the screw on, the men would probably mutiny.

Colonel Gambier said nothing to me after his inspection, and returned to Dublin; but, the next day, I received orders from him, detailing precise instructions for the duties of the battery, in fact putting on the turn of the screw I had considered unsafe. The result was, that all the men of the battery, except the non-commissioned officers, went off to the lake; and, later in the day, marched back to the barracks, into the guard-room, and gave three cheers.

In the meantime I had reported what had occurred to Colonel Goodenough, who commanded the dépôt battalion of the line, and, as senior officer, was commanding officer at the station. As soon as the men returned, I directed the N.C. officers to order them to fall in on parade, which they did. To see how far I had them under discipline, I ordered the rear rank to take open order, and this order was promptly and steadily obeyed. I then closed the ranks, and gave the order, "Fall out any man who has a complaint to make." The whole of the men then stepped forward one pace. I then gave the order, "One pace to the rear, march." This was promptly obeyed. I then said to the sergeant-major, "I will go to the orderly-room, and you will bring the men one by one to me." This was done, when all the men except three behaved very properly, and expressed their regret. The sergeant-major then said that he was sure that two of those three men were harmless but stupid, and were misled. I therefore had them before me again, and they at once humbly expressed their regret. I then found that the third man was the ringleader. He was tried by court-martial, and sentenced to imprisonment, and, while in the military prison, was flogged for insubordination.

When Gambier heard of the mutiny, he immediately wrote me a private letter, in which he said he was surprised that a captain of artillery should have acted so strictly in accordance with his order. Now there had been either no necessity for his order, or if there was, it was necessary to carry it out strictly. I had warned him that any additional strictness,

beyond what I was enforcing at the time of his inspection, would probably cause a mutiny.

It appeared that Goodenough had made so serious a report of this matter to General Gascoigne, commanding in Dublin, that he and other generals in Dublin met, and were proposing that some of them should go down to Athlone, to inquire into it, when Sir Richard Dacres (he told me this himself, afterwards) said he thought it would be quite sufficient for him to go alone. He accordingly came down, and I met him at the station. He said, "What is all this about?" I replied, "I don't think you will find it so serious as has been reported." He made a thorough inspection of the battery, and found little or no fault with it. Just before he left, I called the orderly bombardier, and told him to bring the order-book; and after telling Sir Richard that I had told Colonel Gambier that I could not venture to be more strict and exacting with the men than I had been, or they would mutiny, I asked him to read the Colonel's order.

When he had done so, I produced Gambier's letter to me, and asked him to read it. When he had done so, he looked astonished, but could say nothing, but muttered something to himself.

The following August, Sir Richard Dacres made another very close inspection of the battery, after which he said to me, "You must have worked very hard to bring the battery to its present state." His A.D.C., Major Reilly, told me that neither of the two troops of horse artillery that had recently been in Ireland had ever turned out anything like it. The men, by this time, were behaving exceedingly well, and I had few defaulters, and they were most willing to do anything for me.

It had appeared that Colonel Goodenough, who really knew nothing about the battery, had reported unfavourably concerning it to General Gascoigne, who had forwarded the report to Lord Seaton, the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, and he, in consequence, had ordered that the battery should go to Clonmel. Sir Richard remarked to his A.D.C. after the inspection, "I cannot understand how men, who turn out so well, and make the appearance these men do, can behave so badly as was reported by Colonel Goodenough. He appeared much annoyed with Goodenough, and said he should go at

once to Gascoigne, when he returned to Dublin, and that Goodenough should be more careful what reports he made.

On the 6th September, 1857, I marched with half my battery, accompanied by Lieutenant Richard Butler Stoney, to Clonmel. We halted one day at Birr (Parsonstown), where I saw, and got inside, Lord Rosse's telescope.

When we reached Clonmel, I found there were no other troops there, so we had all the barracks to ourselves; and I had the commanding officer's quarters, a very good house. I had sent my family to lodgings in Dublin, until I should get my quarters in Clonmel ready to receive them; and they had only just joined me when, on the 17th, I received orders to go to Mauritius. The mutiny in India had broken out, and, as the order said, it was necessary that I should immediately join my own company, with, I presume, the idea that it might be ordered on to India. I wrote to General Sir Richard Dacres, and asked him to kindly endeavour to get me off going to Mauritius; and he wrote me the following letter:

"MY DEAR ANSON,

I am truly sorry to lose you from the command, as in all my tour of inspection, I have not seen any troop or battery equal to yours, in every respect. This I have written most strongly and distinctly to the Adjutant-General, and also objected to Captain Harrison taking over the battery. Beyond this I cannot go, but if, from my letter, they allow me to retain you in the command, it will afford me great pleasure. I only hope that if you do leave the command, the officer that succeeds you may keep the Clonmel battery, and its belongings, in the state I saw it, at Athlone.

Believe me, Yours very truly,

R. J. DACRES.

The Castle, Dublin.
24th Sept. 1857."

A year later, when I was trying to obtain a civil appointment in Mauritius, he kindly gave me the following testimonial:—

"Dublin Castle, 18th Dec. 1858.

Captain Anson, of the Royal Artillery, served under my command nearly a year, during which period he was placed in a situation to draw forth his zeal and abilities, having to put a

battery in good order from a most neglected and bad state, and he succeeded so well in doing so, that on his leaving Athlone, where he was stationed, I had to thank him for his activity, and the professional knowledge he had displayed, and I am sure he will show the same qualities in any situation which he may be placed in.

J. R. DACRES, Major-General."

In 1886, Sir Richard was a Field-Marshal, and living at Brighton. I called upon him, and he adverted to the affair at Athlone, and said I had been badly treated. He died in that year, at the age of eighty-seven.

I obtained a short leave before embarking for Mauritius, and spent it with my brother, Sir John Anson, who was occupying Lord Eldon's house at Shirley, near Croydon.

CHAPTER IX

MAURITIUS

(1857-1862)

I EMBARKED for Mauritius, at Woolwich, on the 24th Oct., 1857, on board the sailing bark *Isabella Blyth*, of about 700 tons, commanded by Captain Hale, with a detachment of my company. This vessel was built of teak, at Seychelles, and belonged to the firm of Blyth Brothers. We dropped down the river, and anchored off Gravesend for the night. Soon after we anchored, the sergeant of the detachment came to me, and reported that gunner Frost was drunk, and had declared himself a deserter from the Royal Engineers; and that he had committed a burglary at Gravesend. I said, "Tell him that at present I know him only as a gunner of the R.A., and that any statement he has to make will be attended to when he arrives at Mauritius." His object was, no doubt, to be sent on shore.

Our fellow passengers were the following: Monsieur Autard de Bragard, a magistrate at Mauritius, and his four daughters, aged fifteen, eleven, eight and seven; Dr and Mrs Johnson; Dr Bruno; and my subaltern, Lieutenant Gorges.

Monsieur Autard de Bragard had left Mauritius some months before, with his wife (a very beautiful creole) and daughters. His wife had died on the voyage to England, but her body had been preserved, and was on board; being conveyed to Mauritius for burial. Her heart was preserved in an ebony casket, with silver ornaments, which I afterwards saw in his bedroom, at Mauritius.

The third daughter, Helen, married the Count de Lesseps, the famous engineer of the Suez Canal.

Dr Johnson was an American, and he and his wife had been on a two-years' visit to America and England. He was

temporarily engaged by the Government, to take medical charge of my detachment during the voyage. Mrs Johnson was the daughter of Major Sedley, who was the son of the Duke of Kent, and barrack-master at Mahebourg, in Mauritius. He was a Waterloo officer. Dr Bruno was a young man who had been studying medicine in England.

Captain Hale had, as a boy, thrashed his master or tutor at school, and been sent to sea.

Monsieur Autard had one of the stern cabins for his family, and the one forward, next it, for himself; and I had the two corresponding cabins, on the port side, for my family (wife, three children, and nurse), and myself.

The Autard children looked very uncared for, I therefore asked their father whether he would not like to have a maid to look after them, and told him I had two soldiers' wives on board, and had no doubt one of them would be very glad to attend on them. He said he should be most grateful, if this could be arranged, and I arranged it accordingly.

It was blowing a gale of wind one night, in the Atlantic, and we were sailing under close-reefed topsails, with everything made snug, when I went on deck, about 12 o'clock, and found the captain holding on by one of the shrouds, whistling for a fair wind. The vessel was lying well over. I held on to another shroud, and we conversed. He said, "I will tell you something, but you must not mention it, or we should have trouble with the sailors. We have a body on board." This was the body of Madame Autard de Bragard.

I and my subaltern (Lieut Gorges) tossed the future Countess de Lesseps in a blanket, on board. We were very hard up for amusements. Gorges confined himself mysteriously to his cabin, one day; the result was an old stocking sewn up, and stuffed to represent a horse. Sailors who have received an advance of pay before joining a ship, call it "Throwing the dead horse overboard" when the day arrives when they are entitled to begin to receive their pay again. This happy time had come to Gorges, and he had manufactured his dead horse to throw overboard.

The man who had declared himself a deserter, gave great trouble during the voyage, and he had to be kept in handcuffs. He threatened to go overboard with some of us. I was

standing on the poop one day, when there was a sudden squall, and the jib sail shook about as the vessel heeled over, and for a moment hid the prisoner, Frost, from my view. Before I lost sight of him, I saw him make a sudden movement, and suspected he was up to something. He had, in some cunning manner, divested himself of his handcuffs, and then darted down to the main deck, and made an attempt to put the captain of the vessel overboard. After that, I had made for him a pair of broad iron loops, to fit round his legs, with holes in the backs of them, through which ran a long iron rod, which was cleated down to the deck at one end, and padlocked at the other. He had also handcuffs on. He had exercise up and down the deck twice a day, with a powerful man walking in front, and another behind him. He was a clever and cunning man, in his way, and, with his handcuffs on, made a sketch of the Royal Horse Guards, with the two mounted sentries, on the bulkhead which separated the men's accommodation from the other part of the vessel. He had slept at night below the hatchway under a sentry, and my sergeant came to me one night and reported, "Please, sir, gunner Frost will not turn in." I went below, and found Frost sitting at one of the mess tables, resting both elbows on it, and his chin on his hands. I said to him, "Well, Frost, the sergeant tells me you will not turn in." He looked at me with a scowl, and the pupils of his eyes contracted to the size of pins' heads, and with a growl he said, "Nooo." I said, "Very well, you can stay where you are." The moment my back was turned, he went and lay down in his appointed place. His object had been only to give trouble, and when he found he had not succeeded, he gave in.

We reached Mauritius on the 4th February, after a voyage of 103 days. The captain very kindly invited me to remain on board with my family until the next day, as I had no quarter ready to go into. I was very glad to accept his kind offer. About 8 o'clock in the evening, the friends and relations of Monsieur Autard de Bragard came on board, to be present at the removal of his wife's remains to the shore. The hatchway was opened, and a rope placed round, and made fast to, the case containing the coffin, and then passed over a pulley above the deck. Then the boatswain piped with

his whistle, and gave the word to the sailors to haul at the rope, to raise the case, thus: "Now then, haul away! haul away! There you have it, all alive! haul away!" I was standing by, and could not refrain from a smile at the idea that (in nautical language) they had it "all alive."

The day after our arrival, Mr Arbuthnot, the manager of the Oriental Bank, came and very kindly invited us to go and stay at his country place, "Bon Air," in the district of Plaines Wilhems, about four miles from Port Louis. Mrs Arbuthnot was the daughter of Lieutenant General Staveley, and sister of Sir Charles Staveley, who was for some time Commander-in-Chief in Bombay.

Shortly after my arrival there, I had a severe attack of dysentery, and Sir Villiers Surtees, the Chief Justice, very kindly took me in at his house, "Cerné," the grounds of which adjoined those of "Bon Air." There I remained for some weeks, much of the time confined to my bed. Sir Villiers had living with him, Mr William L'Estrange and his cousin Savile L'Estrange (brother of Lady Muncaster, who, in 1870, was taken prisoner by the brigands in Greece, near Marathon), who were in business in Port Louis. Their brother, Mr George L'Estrange, was a director of the P. and O. Company, and represented the Irish interests in that company. Sir Villiers had been a great friend of Sir Walter Scott.

The prisoner, gunner Frost, was tried by court martial, after arrival at Mauritius, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. Shortly after his imprisonment had commenced, he pretended to be out of his mind; and as soon as I was well enough, I was ordered to attend, as a witness, at a meeting of the military prison committee who were to inquire into his state of mind.

The committee met in a small narrow room, in the gaol; and the prisoner was brought in, and placed in the angle of it, near the door, between two warders. When the inquiry was finished, the President gave the order, "March the prisoner away." The senior warder gave the word, "Right face, quick march." The two warders faced to the right, and were about to march, when the prisoner, who had not faced, rushed forward, and attacked Colonel Cockburn, commanding the Royal Artillery, one of the members of the committee, but

the colonel leant down low, on the further side of his chair, and so avoided being struck. The prisoner then rushed back to the angle of the room, where the warders were, and as they hit at him with their staves, and sent the whitewash flying off the walls above his head, he slid downwards, and escaped being struck. He was afterwards tried for his conduct on this occasion, and sentenced to receive twenty-five lashes, and it fell to my duty to have this sentence carried out. On arrival at Mauritius, he had boasted that he would have robbed every bank in the island, had he not been a prisoner. He also said that he had committed a burglary at Morpeth. At the end of his imprisonment, he was dismissed the service, and sent home to be turned adrift.

As soon as I was fit for duty, I was sent to Fort William, at the south point of the entrance to the harbour. The accommodation was very miserable for a married man, and a family consisting of a wife and three young children (of one, three, and five years of age), and an English nurse. The quarter itself, a wooden bungalow with shingled roof, consisted of two low rooms, and a 6-foot verandah in front of them. The sitting-room was about 18 feet by 12 feet, and the bedroom about 12 feet by 12 feet. Out of the sitting-room was a small pantry, about 6 feet square, with a window without glass, and only a wooden shutter. There was a small loose box for a horse, about 4 feet from the bedroom window, with a door and small window, the window about 18 inches square, with only a wooden shutter to it. This loose box I had thoroughly cleaned out and whitewashed, and about 4 inches of white coral from the beach well beaten down over the floor, and a rattan mat placed over it. On the walls I hung calico sheets, and thus converted it into a dressing-room for myself.

Behind the bungalow, opposite the pantry window (which I cut down into a doorway), at about six paces from it, was an old arched, bombproof magazine, built by the French, which was the kitchen. It was alive with cockroaches, and had no window. To the left hand of that, at some paces from it, was a store for all the requirements for the guns in the Fort. This store was also built of wood, unlined, and had a roof of wooden bardeaux. It was divided in the middle into two

parts by a wooden partition about 8 feet high ; and above that, it was divided only by narrow battens, a few inches apart. The window was an opening about 3 feet square, with no glass, and only a wooden shutter. I placed all the stores in the further half of the building, and after a thorough cleaning and whitewashing of the other half, by a fatigue party, converted it into a nursery for the three children and their nurse. The heat, in such small accommodation as this bungalow and nursery afforded, was very trying. There was a small barrack-room, with about twenty-five men in it, close by.

At a certain season of the year, the seaweed detached itself from the bottom of the harbour, and the prevailing trade wind blew it on to the beach, just outside the Fort, and the smell was abominable, like rotten eggs. Often, when at meals, I had something on my fork, and was about to put it in my mouth, the smell suddenly became so sickening that I was obliged to stop eating. And yet, as it contained iodine, it was not considered unhealthy.

Another offensive odour reached the Fort. This emanated from the manufactory of manure, beyond the other side of the harbour. There, on a plain, large tanks existed, into which the night soil, collected during the night, was placed, and the scavengering of the town was burnt in kilns, and when worked to a powder, was mixed with it. It was then stirred by long poles, resting on rullocks, placed on the sides of the tanks. It was when this stirring took place, that the smell came across the harbour. This mixture was, when dry, converted into powder, placed in sacks, and sold as a guano to the sugar estates. The work of this manufactory was carried out by a company, of which the chief medical officer was chairman, and which gave a dividend of about 40 per cent.

The whole plain was littered with dried scavengering, old sugar bags, and all sorts of rubbish. The coolies who worked there lived with their families in huts built of old wooden boxes, and bits of tin boxes, sugar bags, gunny bags, cocoa-nut leaves, etc.

During a time when cholera was very prevalent, when Head of the Police, I visited the coolie camp on this plain, and about 300 men, women, and children were paraded before me. They all appeared exceedingly healthy, and well fed, and no

case of cholera occurred among them. But I found the odour so sickening, that I was obliged to ask if the manager could give me a little brandy.

On the first occasion when I visited this plain, I found pigs feeding from these tanks, and then inquired how many of them found their way to the slaughter house, which was not far off, and ascertained that a great many did so. I brought this to the notice of the Government, and an end was put to this disgusting and dangerous method of feeding pigs for the market.

I was anxious to get some occupation besides my military duties, which were not onerous ; and the secretaryship of the Meteorological Society falling vacant, I made application for it. A meeting of the committee of the society was held, and the question of appointing the secretary was discussed, and it being decided that it should be postponed, the Governor (Sir William Stevenson) and the Chief Justice (Sir Villiers Surtees), two members of the society who both supported my candidature, left the meeting. Then those members left behind elected a secretary. Both the Governor and Chief Justice were very much annoyed about this. So far as I was concerned, it did not, however, injure my interests, for very soon after I obtained an appointment which was very much more to my advantage.

A Captain Cathcart arrived at Mauritius soon after I did. He was sent out by the Colonial Office, as Head of the Police, with the local rank of major. I sat next to him at a dinner party in Port Louis, and in course of conversation he told me his health was bad, that the place did not suit him, that he was disappointed with the appointment of Superintendent of Police, and that, although he had been out only three months, he was anxious to leave and return to England. Half in joke, and half in earnest, thinking it just possible that it might lead to my obtaining some employment, I said, "I will take your duty for you, if they will let me." He replied, "Come and see me at my office to-morrow morning, and we will talk it over." I did as he suggested ; and the result was that he wrote to the Government, and tendered his resignation, and suggested I should take over his duties.

A letter from Cathcart, on the 3rd Sept. 1858, informed

me that my letter, and a very strong private note from himself to the Colonial Secretary (Sandwith of Kars), were shown to the Governor, who would not entertain my proposal, as he was determined not to fill the appointment temporarily by the nomination of any person from another department of any sort; that he, Cathcart, would have to go home on sick certificate, when the senior inspector would be directed to assume charge. However, a few days after, I received a private note from the Governor, as follows:

“My dear Sir,—Can you step here for a few minutes?
Yours truly,
W. STEVENSON.”

I went to the Governor's office in Port Louis, and he asked me what steps should be taken to apply to the military authorities that I might be appointed Acting Superintendent of Police. I told him that the usual course would be for the Colonial Secretary to communicate with the Military Secretary. This course was adopted, but the reply from the military authorities was that I could not be spared from my military duties.

At an entertainment on board H.M.S. *Boscawen*, I found the Governor alone, and after a little conversation with him, he said, “Well, so they would not let me have you? I have done all I can for you, haven't I?” I hesitated for a moment, and then said, “Well, sir, there is only one thing you could do.” “What is that?” he replied. I then said, “If you were to say to the military authorities that I am the only fit person in the Colony for it, I think they would be bound to let you have me.” We both laughed at this suggestion, but it was adopted in some form, with the result that I was appointed Acting Superintendent, on half salary, and the travelling allowance, on the understanding, that I should perform my regimental duties, but be exempted from garrison duties.

I then took steps to try to obtain the appointment permanently, and my application was forwarded to the Colonial Office by the Governor, backed by the following testimonials.

One from Sir Richard Dacres, already quoted. Another from Sir Villiers Surtees, dated from Fenton's Hotel, London, 10th December, 1858.

"I am deeply anxious that the Queen may be pleased to confirm the appointment, made by Governor Stevenson, of Captain Anson, as Superintendent of Police in Mauritius. This anxiety I feel on public grounds, in the interests of the Colony, and particularly as regards my own immediate sphere of duty. Before leaving Mauritius, I had an opportunity of assuring myself that Captain Anson had, during the short time he had occupied the office, most materially improved the organization, and general efficiency, of the Police Force: and thereby very much facilitated the administration of justice. He is a man of energy, physical strength, as well as firmness of mind. He is one not to be frightened or cajoled. His temper and courteous manner ensure his never giving cause of any offence: and I must not omit to add, what is, in my judgment, formed on long experience of Mauritius, a most important recommendation: He is entirely unconnected with the Colony, and therefore perfectly free from all those trammels, and impervious to those influences, which have so often been mischievously brought to bear in that circumscribed community, with its cliques and party feelings."

At the time I took over the acting appointment of Superintendent of Police, it was desired by the Government to reorganize the department. I pointed out to the Governor that, should I not be confirmed, it might be a considerable time before a successor should be appointed, and that even then the person appointed might, like Major Cathcart, break down in health, and so the reorganization be indefinitely delayed. At the same time I said I was quite prepared to undertake the reorganization, if he would trust me to do so.

A commission was appointed to take into consideration my suggestions, and any information that might be laid before it. The commissioners, in their report, adopted my recommendations, and a Police Ordinance was shortly afterwards passed, giving effect to that report.

One of the suggestions approved of was, that the Head of the Police Department should have the title of Inspector-General, and that there should be, under him, a Superintendent especially for the duties in Port Louis. When the latter appointment was authorized, I wrote an application to the Government, requesting that the junior inspector should be promoted to fill it. He was an exceptionally good and well qualified man, and the best of the inspectors. I felt that,

should I send in this application in the usual way, there would be an effort made by some of the other inspectors to obtain the appointment, and this would lead to trouble and discontent. I therefore took my letter direct to the Governor, and asked him to approve of the appointment. He said, "Are you sure he is the right man?" I assured him he was. He then said, "Well, you are responsible." I said I was quite prepared to take the responsibility. He then signed his name to his approval. I then sent the letter in to the Colonial Secretary's office, in the usual way. The appointment having been approved, it was then too late for any one else to apply for it. It turned out, as I had anticipated, an excellent appointment.

During this year I had great trouble with the military. The men of the 2nd battalion of the 5th regiment were a very bad set, committing thefts and assaults nightly. Twenty were committed to the civil prison in the first five months after the arrival of the regiment. Later, not fewer than thirty were imprisoned, and some for very abominable crimes. The Colonel, Kirkland, had obtained the colonelcy by raising the regiment. He very unwisely connived at the attacks his men made against the police, and when he had to take notice of their misconduct, supported them against the civil authorities.

Besides the trouble with the military, there was also trouble with the navy, and Captain Crauford, who commanded *H.M.S. Sidon* in the harbour, threatened to land his men, and attack one of the police stations near the harbour, because some of his men when ashore, having miscondacted themselves, had got into the hands of the police.

The Mayor and Corporation of Port Louis, as magistrates for the town, held a court. The manner in which the court was conducted, besides the divided and conflicting police control, I found so unsatisfactory, that I made representations to the Government, with the result that an ordinance was passed doing away with the municipal court, and establishing a Government Police Magistrate for the town; and also doing away with the municipal police.

In August, the Yamse, or Mohurram, a Mohammedan religious festival, took place. This festival had formerly lasted eleven days, and stopped all work on the sugar estates during

its continuance. It had led to all sorts of disorders, and when two ghooms, from different estates, met in the country districts, free fights took place, ending sometimes in the death of some of the followers. In Port Louis, the procession of ghooms had been accompanied by the beating of drums (large casks with sheepskins stretched over one end), and tom-toms (small drums played on by the fingers). It had commenced about 8 o'clock in the evening and lasted until 6 o'clock in the morning. All that time I had had to be in my saddle, with a large force of police on duty, and all night there had been an infernal noise. To put an end to the inconvenience sustained by the public in connection with this festival under the powers I possessed under the new police ordinance, I placed such restrictions on its processions, etc., that it was carried on as follows: It commenced at 7 o'clock in the evening, on the appearance of the new moon, with a procession through a part of the town to the Mosque.

On the eighth morning after the appearance of the new moon a procession took place within the precincts of the Mosque. At 3 o'clock the same afternoon a procession, called "Ail Dorée" took place from the Mosque in the Camp Lascart through part of the town, to the Mosque in Ail Dorée Street.

On the tenth day a procession took place, at gun-fire in the morning, within the precincts of the Mosque. The same night a procession, called "Lever des Ghooms," took place at 7 p.m., following the same route as on the eighth day. This terminated at midnight.

On the eleventh day a procession called "Casse Ghoom" took place. It started at 2 p.m. from the Mosque in Camp Lascar, and proceeded to a rivulet on the Pamplémousses road, where the ghooms were destroyed. This was done in memory of the prophet's son, Husain, who was drowned. The Mussulmans, on the occasion, wore green turbans, and kept up a continually repeated shouting of "Husain! Husain!" I prohibited the beating of drums and tom-toms between 8 p.m. and gun-fire in the morning, also processions on the high-roads in the country.

During the old days, previous to the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, many of them lived on the side of the signal mountain, in what was called the Blacktown, and on the plain

near Fort William; and they continued to do so when they became free. They built themselves good huts and houses, on Government land, and, at night, especially on Saturday, they beat tom-toms, to the annoyance of the residents in the town. This I put a stop to. To the music of the tom-toms they were accustomed to dance the *sagar*, an old slave dance.

My brother, Sir John Anson, who in England had interested himself in furthering my views in regard to the confirmation of my appointment, received a letter, dated the 7th April, 1859, from the Colonial Office, signed by Herman Merivale, informing him, by direction of Sir E. B. Lytton (the Secretary of State for the Colonies), that H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief having stated that his military duties would not admit of Captain Anson being employed as Superintendent of Police, Sir E. B. Lytton had informed the Governor that he could not advise Her Majesty to confirm him in that appointment, unless he should retire altogether from the army.

On being informed of this, officially, by the Governor, I renewed my application; and, declining to retire from the army, asked that I might be placed on the same footing as Captain Mann, of the Royal Engineers, who was "seconded," and was holding the appointment of Surveyor-General. On this, the Governor again made a strong representation in my favour, and his private secretary wrote, on the 29th May, to Mr Higgins, a former clerk of the Colonial Office, who had acted as private secretary to several Colonial Secretaries of State, as follows:

"I have received your letter about Anson. I hope it may be arranged satisfactorily for him. The Governor is fully aware of his merits, and will be very sorry to lose such a valuable officer, that is, if the Horse Guards authorities cannot be brought to listen to reason. The case has been strongly represented at home, and I think, unless they are already committed, they can hardly turn a deaf ear to the Governor's very urgent representations. That his successor, whoever he may be, will not do half so well as Anson, every one here is convinced. Anson has thrown himself, heart and soul, into his work, and has quite reorganized, and brought into a state of efficiency, a most worthless body of men. The material he has to work upon is of the most inferior description, very Colonial. The Surveyor-General here, Captain Mann, R.E.,

is 'en seconde,' and there can be no real reason for refusing the same favour to Anson."

On the 8th August, the Duke of Newcastle, who had then become the Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote, as follows, to Mr. Higgins :

"When I took the seals of the C.O., I found a refusal from the Horse Guards to place Captain Anson 'en seconde,' but there being reason to suppose that the case was misapprehended, I renewed the attack, with a strong recommendation, and the result, I am happy to say, was *consent*. Since then the appointment has been made, and all has been settled to your satisfaction."

So, after the expiration of a year, I received an official notification that I was confirmed in the appointment, on the 16th August; and my commission was dated at Mauritius, the 3rd Nov., 1859.

In consequence of my being seconded, I had to quit my quarters in Fort William, on the 1st Feb., 1860, and took a house in the country, at Grand River, about two miles from the centre of the town, and at a point overlooking the sea.

About the year 1860, Mr Denman, the Commissioner of Police, Straits Settlements (when the Straits were under the Government of India), came to Mauritius, when on leave, in a vessel that touched there on its way to England. I showed Mr Denman all my police arrangements in Port Louis, of which he expressed much appreciation, and some of which he adopted on his return to the Straits. I little thought at that time that a few years later I should administer the Government of that Colony, should have Mr Denman as one of my officials, and should pass the police ordinance for the Colony.

On the 16th Oct., 1860, Admiral Keppel (afterwards Sir Henry) arrived in H.M. brig *Brisk*, sixteen guns, Captain De Horsey. While he was at Mauritius, a sham fight took place in Tombeau Bay—a place made famous in the book entitled *Paul and Virginia*, being the bay in which, according to the book, the ship *Paul* was on board was wrecked. The ship, from which the incident in the story was taken, was really wrecked on Isle D'Ambre, on the north-east of the island, and not in Tombeau Bay.

The fight was between the military on shore and the navy

afloat. The bay is about four miles from Port Louis. The *Forté*, supported by H.M. brig *Brisk*, took up a position at the entrance of the bay. The boats of these vessels, together with those of H.M.S. *Wasp*, which was in dock, put off under cover of their fire, and advanced in order, to attack the military, who lined a battery on the shore, and occupied a breastwork on a steep hill in rear.

There were two very severe hurricanes in February, 1861. The first, on the 11th, lasted an unusually long time, six days, from Monday to Saturday; and the second was from the opposite direction, on the following Monday, but lasted only twenty-four hours. Scarcely a person in the island escaped loss or damage to some extent. Before the first hurricane, everything was looking beautifully green, with thick rich foliage; after the hurricanes, not a leaf was to be seen, and the country had the appearance of an English winter. The house I was in leaked like a sieve. I had to cross the drawing-room under an umbrella. We were driven to two rooms on the leeward side of the house. My wife and I slept on a mattress on the floor, in my small dressing-room, some twelve feet square; and my children slept under the dining-room table. Everything was wet, the floors were covered with water, and all the paper came off the walls. There was no means of getting anything to eat; and no Europeans, except some Englishmen, left their houses; and they, under difficulties, visited their friends to see how they were getting on. Thirty people were killed, and about 2000 oxen died from exposure to the weather. I saw one small thatched house turned upside down; and one was washed down the Grand River and out to sea. I was, at the time, in treaty to purchase a house with about 10 acres (French) of land, at the third mile from Port Louis, on the Plaines Wilhems road. I went out to see how it was standing the hurricane, and was satisfied. But while looking at it from the high-road, I had to prop myself with a stick, to prevent being blown away. I afterwards purchased the property, and, later, the adjoining one, which had a small wooden house on it. The house of my first purchase was of wood, and came, ready to put together, from Singapore. The roof was made of teak shingles, smoothly cut by machinery. Those in general use were of local "bois de natte," narrower,

and roughly split with an axe. They did not lie so smooth, and when swelled with rain were apt to press against one another, and, in consequence, gaped; and in a hurricane the rain was blown under them, and the roof leaked.

Colonel Cockburn, who commanded the artillery and was much beloved and greatly respected, went home about this time, and was relieved by Colonel Middleton, who came out with his wife and family. Mrs Middleton was the daughter of Lady Harriet Kavanagh and sister of Mr Kavanagh, the member of parliament, who was without arms and legs, and yet *stood* for an Irish county. Middleton had been in India, and commanded a troop of horse artillery during the Mutiny, at the capture of Lucknow, and in Oudh. He had been severely wounded, and had two horses killed under him. He and I had been subalterns together, at Manchester, in 1845. He was about four and a half years senior to me in the service. He had a story about a shot that had struck him on the nose, and knocked it in, and how he pulled it out again with his finger and thumb. The officers of the Line used to get him to tell this story when he dined with them at their mess.

I was one day driving to the other side of the island on duty, accompanied by the Government sanitary inspector, when we observed an abandoned cane field covered with a bright green, low-growing, spreading shrub. My companion, a medical man and a botanist, was anxious to ascertain what it was, as he did not recognize it. We therefore got out of the carriage, mounted the bank on the side of the road, and together leapt into the field. Instantly, all around us for some distance, the green disappeared, and we found ourselves surrounded by a dull-brown circle. For the moment, this even puzzled the botanist, but recovering his surprise, he found that we had jumped into a field of the sensitive plant. The effect, for the moment, was certainly very startling.

About September, 1861, news was received of the death of Queen Rainiavalona of Madagascar—the queen who had so persecuted the Christians, and caused so many to be put to death. The King, her son, who succeeded her, under the title of Radama the Second, wrote to the Governor, and told him that the country would now be opened again to Europeans. It had virtually been closed since 1845, when the French and

English had bombarded Tamatave; since when, the heads of the men of those two nations, who had been killed, had been exposed on poles at the fort.

The Governor of Mauritius, Sir William Stevenson, sent a deputation to Madagascar—consisting of Colonel Middleton, R.A.; Mr Newton, Assistant Colonial Secretary; Lieutenant Marindin, R.E., A.D.C. to the Governor (late Sir Francis Marindin, K.C.M.G., of the Board of Trade); Dr Roche, R.A.; and Mr Mellish, a merchant of Mauritius—to congratulate the King on his accession to the throne, and to take to him presents, of the value of £2000, voted by the Legislative Council.

I had asked the Colonial Secretary to bring my name forward as one of the deputation, and he told me he had already done so, but that the Governor had said I was too useful, and could not be spared.

On the 6th Nov., 1861, I went, on duty, to Seychelles by P. and O., spending a day at the French island of Bourbon, or Réunion, on the way. This island is about 115 miles south-west of Mauritius. At Bourbon there is a mountain the height of which is 7000 feet above the sea, on which the French have a sanatorium.

I breakfasted at the hotel, and had little avadavat birds strung and cooked on sticks, like kabobs, which were eaten whole.

Mahé, the principal island of the Seychelles, is 984 miles north of Mauritius, and situated between 4° and 5° south. The Seychelles form a group of thirty small islands, and the Amarantes, in their neighbourhood, a group of eleven islands. There are also twenty-three other islands, besides Rodrigues (400 miles east of Mauritius), that are Dependencies of Mauritius, including St Paul and Amsterdam, in between 37° 45' and 38° 15' south, and about 78° east. Seychelles lies out of the general region of hurricanes, but the islands experienced a very severe one in 1862, when a house was carried some way down the hill at the back of the town.

One of its islands, Isle Praslin (20 miles from Mahé) is the only place where the "Coco-der-Mer" is found. This fruit, which is the size of a large cocoa-nut, and the interior of which is divided into two lobes, was, in former days, found

floating in the sea, and, it not being known from whence it came, obtained the name of "Coco-de-Mer," cocoa-nut of the sea. The nuts of the tree are much used, when cut in half, as sugar scoops, in the sugar mills at Mauritius.

One of the islands near Mahé was used as a sequestration island for lepers, who occupied huts on it. The lepers were accustomed to make their own coffins, and keep them on the beams under the roofs of their huts.

I had not time to visit any of the other islands, having to leave again by the next steamer for Mauritius, so spent my whole time in Mahé. This is a very pretty island, about 17 miles long, by 4 to 7 miles in breadth, and here is the capital, Victoria. There is a mountain of about 1800 feet high, which rises from the foot of the town. To the top of this I ascended, and obtained a good view of some of the other islands. The little town is situated in a bay, and its little church, with its tower, which had been recently built, of white coral, was observable from a considerable distance. The town and Government House were embosomed in cocoa-nut trees and bamboos, which grew down to the water's edge. Huge granite boulders, of curious forms, crop out in all directions. The bay is surrounded by very pretty little islands, some thickly clothed with verdure, and others only barren granite rocks, of rich colouring.

The Acting Commissioner held a levée a day or two after our arrival, notice of it having been sent round to the other islands. The captain and senior officers of the *Gorgon*, with myself, had the entrée, and formed the entourage of the Commissioner. It turned out that there was only one "top hat" in the dependency, and this hat had to do duty with each person as he was introduced to the Commissioner. As soon as one passed out, it was handed outside to the next. By one it was carried under the arm, by another in the hand, by the next it was waved gracefully, and again, it was carried in front of the breast, and so on, in every possible manner. Among those who attended the levée were, Dr Brooks, the Swiss Protestant clergyman, the French Roman Catholic priest, an Italian monk (in the dress of his order, with a rope round his waist), and the magistrate.

I spent a week at Mahé. I found everything very slack,

including the general morality of the inhabitants, who were very inactive and sleepy. On my return to Mauritius, I sent there an English inspector of police, an English sergeant-major, an English sergeant and corporal, and twelve English constables, all good and respectable men. I selected a building in the town, which I recommended the Governor to purchase for the use of the police. The only official who represented my department, when I was there, was employed as harbour-master, shipping-master, postmaster, etc., in addition to his police duties.

In August, 1860, I received the following letter from the Mayor of Port Louis.

"Town Hall, 29th August, 1860.

SIR,

It affords me much pleasure to be, in this instance, the interpreter of this Town, in tendering to you my sincere congratulations for the admirable manner in which the police performed their duty at the Champs-de-Mars during the late races.

If amidst an unusual crowd of people we have had no disorders to notice, and no accidents to lament, it is certainly due to the exemplary manner in which your regulations for the races were carried out by the police force.

Allow me to avail myself of this opportunity, to convey to you my best thanks for the assistance which I have invariably received from you, and from all the officials of your department, since the day I assumed the Municipal Administration; and at the same time to congratulate you upon the notable improvements which are daily carried out in the important branch of service confided to your care.

I have the honour to be,

&c, &c, &c,

(Signed)

G. De COURSON,
Mayor of Port Louis."

On this I received the following remark from the Governor of the Colony. "It is very satisfactory to see such strong approbation expressed by the Chief Magistrate of the City, and still more so to believe that the praise bestowed has been justly deserved."

Again, in August, 1861, I received the following letter from the Stewards of the Mauritius Turf Club.

“ SIR,

In the name of the Mauritius Turf Club, we beg to express our acknowledgements for the very efficient manner in which your Force carried out the arrangements of the Club during this year's races.

The invariable courtesy displayed by your Officers, the willingness and intelligence of your men in the execution of their duty, and the consequent absence of all disorder, are beyond praise, in fact, have never been equalled on any previous occasion.

We are happy to be in this circumstance the interpreters of the whole Public of Mauritius.

We have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

(Signed) Stewards { J. C. HARDY,
E. OLIVIER,
EDWARD HART.
F. FOQUEREAUX,
Secrétaire.”

CHAPTER X

MISSION TO MADAGASCAR

(1862)

IN 1862, by instructions from the Home Government, the Governor of Mauritius was directed to despatch a mission to Antananarivo, the capital of Madagascar, to represent Great Britain at the Coronation of King Radama II. The Governor sent for me to his office, and informed me that he intended to send me in charge of the mission. I left his office, and went into that of his private secretary, and there found Major-General Johnstone, the officer commanding the troops, who congratulated me on the appointment. After leaving Government House, I was walking up the street, when a messenger came running after me, and informed me that the Governor wished to see me. I returned to the Governor's office, and there found the General. The Governor then told me that the General had offered his services to go on the mission to Madagascar, and he had accepted them. At this I felt greatly annoyed. I outstayed the General, and when he had left, I told the Governor that the appointment of the General placed me in a very different position. He said, "It will make no difference, you will just take care of the General and the Bishop, and I shall leave everything in your hands." That was all very well, but it entirely altered my position in the regard of the members of the French mission, as well as in that of the King and officers of the Hova Government. After leaving the Governor's office, I went down to the office of the Commissary General, and there I met the General's A.D.C. I told the Commissary General (who had been my opposite neighbour at Limerick) what had occurred in the Governor's office, and added that I thought it was rather a sneaking trick of the General's to cut me out. It appeared that the A.D.C.

reported this to the General. The following day I was again sent for to the Governor's office, where I found the General, who then brought to the notice of the Governor what I had said. I did not deny it, and did not withdraw it, and after some desultory conversation all round, the matter dropped, but it was not a happy commencement of our companionship during our expedition together.

H.M.S. *Gorgon* was sent to take the mission to Tamatave, the port on the east side of Madagascar. The captain was offered to join the mission, but when he found that he was not to be in charge of it, he declined to go. The *Gorgon* had just returned from the East Coast of Africa, where it had been employed to bring away the daughter of Bishop Mackenzie. The Bishop had been murdered by the natives. Miss Mackenzie had for many days been on board one of the boats of the *Gorgon*, before she reached the ship.

The following is an extract from the instructions of the Governor to the members of the commission.

"The-officers in charge of the Queen's letter and presents to King Radama, viz. His Honor Major-General Johnstone, The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Mauritius, Inspector-General Anson, Captain Royal Artillery, and Lieutenant Oliver, R.A. (acting as General Johnstone's Aide-de-Camp), will proceed in H.M.S. *Gorgon* to Tamatave, and thence with all possible expedition to the Capital, Antananarivo . . . I entrust the Queen's letter, which is under Her Majesty's sign manual, to the express care of Major-General Johnstone, for personal delivery to the King . . . Major-General Johnstone will then present Inspector-General Anson to the King, as the officer charged with the care of the remaining presents, which will then be laid before His Majesty in the Queen's name, with Her Majesty's best wishes to the King. . . . For the general convenience of account and responsibility, I leave all detail arrangements where I have already placed them, with Inspector-General Anson."

The members of the mission were directed to place themselves at the disposal of His Majesty, as representatives of the British nation, should it be his desire that they should do so, to be present and assist at his approaching coronation.

We embarked on board the *Gorgon* at 8.30 a.m., and sailed at 10 a.m., on the 12th July. Our party, besides myself,

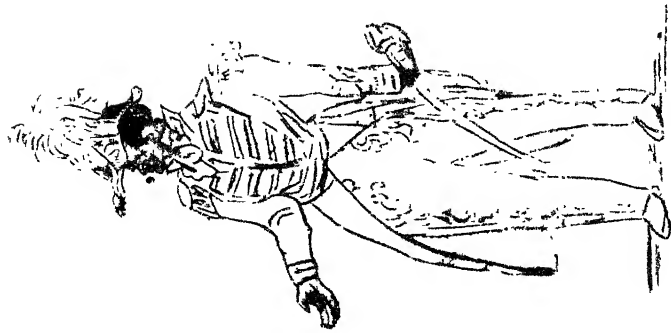
consisted of Major-General Cholmeley Johnstone, Bishop Ryan, Lieutenant Oliver, R.A., and Mr Andrianisa (my Malagasy interpreter) and his son, two cooks (one my own cook, a Madras man, and one a Malagasy), and four Malagasy servants. Two officers of the 2nd batt. 5th Regiment and one officer of the Commissariat Department, were allowed to go as passengers. The latter went in connection with the purchase of cattle for the troops.

The following day was Sunday, and the Bishop held two services on deck for all hands. The deck at the evening service was lighted by a ship's lantern, which I held, while sitting near the mast. The Bishop preached two remarkably good extempore sermons to a very attentive congregation of the crew. I congratulated him in the evening on the success of them, and he seemed much pleased. He remarked to me, "There, now, had I read those sermons, they would have lost their effect."

We anchored off Tamatave about mid-day on the 15th, and found the French frigate *l'Hermione*, and another small French man-of-war, at anchor. The entrance to the roads is through a narrow opening in the reef, on which were lying the remains of two wrecks.

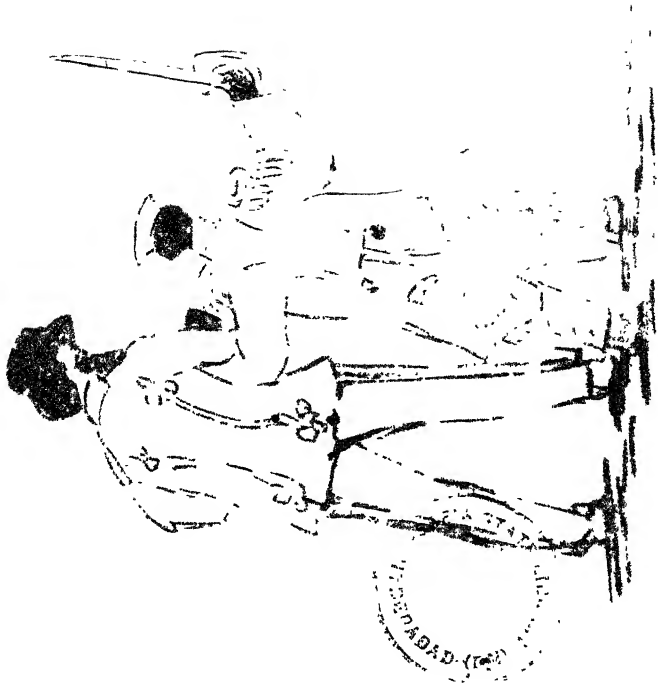
In order that there might be no delay in the arrival of the Queen's presents at the capital, they had been sent on before us in a trading vessel. But on our arrival we found that neither the person to whom they had been entrusted, nor the newly appointed British Consul, had been able to obtain marmites (bearers) to take them to the capital; and that the French Commodore, with nine members of the French Mission, had also been unable to get off.

Soon after anchoring, three officers of the 9th Honour came on board, as custom house officers, and they informed us that an officer of the 11th Honour was about to receive us. At 3 p.m. the *Gorgon* saluted King Radama's flag, at the fort, with twenty-one guns. It was the first time the King's flag had been saluted, and it was hoisted on board the *Gorgon* during the salute. The 11th Honour came on board in a very smart forage cap with a large gold tassel and gold band. He was accompanied by several minor Honours, one of whom had on a wide-awake with a gold band round it. With that



GOVERNOR OF TAMATAVE

In full dress.



CAPTAIN ANSON AND THE GOVERNOR OF TAMATAVE.

Drawn by Captain Officer, R.A.

[Facing p. 162.]

exception they were all in plain clothes. They may have started in uniform, but having been upset out of their pirogue, and got wet through, they had to go home and change their clothes. The 1st Honour was the private soldier; and each rank up to the Commander-in-Chief was one Honour higher. The Prime Minister held the title of Rainivoninahitriniony or Father of all Honours. The next in rank below him was the Commander-in-Chief, who was a 16th Honour. The members of the Royal Family and the nobles took rank independent of Honours.

We were introduced to all the officers who had come on board. They asked when we should be ready to go ashore: I told them we should land, privately, in the afternoon, and call on the Governor of Tamatave, to arrange about our official landing; and also to deliver to him a letter I had for him from the Mauritius Government. We then invited them into the cabin, where refreshments were served, and we drank the health of King Radama.

The British Consul, who had arrived before us, had not got on well with the native authorities, and had made a bad impression. It appeared that he wanted to hoist his consular flag in Tamatave, and that the Governor had requested him not to do so, as he had received no instructions from the King to allow any nationality to hoist a national flag, and to postpone doing so until the King's authority had been received. The Consul took offence at this, and told the Governor that he would have nothing to do with him, but would communicate only with the King. In this he acted in concert with the Head of the French Mission, Commodore Dupré, the Captain of the frigate *l'Hermione*, who, because the Governor was a little behind his time when meeting him on his official landing, put his hand behind his back, with a theatrical air, and refused to shake hands. .

There was an old belief that, if the flag of a foreign country were hoisted, and touched the ground, it indicated that the place would be taken by the nation that hoisted it; but provided that the flag should be put on a pole, and so carried by a bearer that neither the pole nor the flag touched the ground, there was no objection to the flag. Of course, as soon as the King could be communicated with, at the capital,

orders were issued, by his authority, for the flag to be hoisted.

It was not only the policy, but the desire of all the people to be civil, and to do everything that was correct; and if they failed in any way, it was entirely through ignorance. It must be remembered that until the death of the Queen, the previous year, the country had been virtually closed to Europeans, and the heads of the English and French sailors, who were killed in the naval expedition in 1845, had only lately, after the Queen's death, been removed from the Fort, where they had been exposed on poles. I found that, if the people made a mistake, they were shy to acknowledge it, but that they were only too grateful for instruction and information on any subject, if it were given with kindly tact and discretion. Certainly no people could have been more civil and attentive in every way than all, from the Governor downwards, were to us.

The officers of the French mission were, Capitaine de Vaisseau Jules Dupré, Commandant-en-chef des forces navales; Lieut-Colonel Lesline, d'Infanterie de Marine, commandant la garnison à la Réunion; Captain Mazière, d'Artillerie; Captain Prud'homme de St Maur, Adjut.-Major, d'Infanterie de Marine: Lieut de vaisseau de Lagrange, Commandant de l'isle de St Marie; Lieut de vaisseau Devatre, Aide-de-camp du Commandant Dupré; Lieut de Ferrières, de l'*Hermione*; Docteur Vinson, Médecin de la Réunion, Chirurgien Capitaine.

After returning from the frigate, I joined the Bishop, Lieut Oliver, and my interpreter, on shore; and in the main street we were met by a military party, the officers with swords and the privates with muskets and spears, and headed by a band. Accompanying this escort came marmites (bearers), slaves of the king, with palanquins (called filanzans), four marmites for each. We got into the palanquins (two poles with a leather seat between them), and were hoisted on to the men's shoulders, and away we went, the band playing a jiggy air, to which the marmites kept time. Words of command were given in English, but the orders, "Right about face, quick march, present arms," produced only the latter movement, and the striking up of *God save the Queen* by the band.

Crowds of people turned out to look at us. We were conveyed to the Fort, an earthen work with a square yard in the middle, with the Governor's house at the further end of it. A flagstaff, with a white flag, with *Radama II* inscribed in its centre, was in the middle of the yard.

At the entrance of the Fort there was a palisade, looking much the worse for age ; and there we saw the guns that had returned our salute. One was about a 4-pounder, and another a short carronade, turned the wrong way, and mounted on a block of wood.

We passed through two archways formed of palisades with earth above, and then through a long passage with a bend in it, of similar construction, but so low that I had to stoop in passing along it on my palanquin. This led us into the square, where were drawn up two sides of a square of soldiers. These soldiers wore no uniform, but only shirts with small pleats. The officers carried swords.

The Governor came from his house, and gave the word of command to his troops. We were let down from our palanquins close to the entrance, and took off our hats to the flag of the King. I then walked up to the Governor, who was dressed in a long frock coat of scarlet cloth, reaching nearly to his heels, open in front, and showing a portion of yellow satin lining ; a pair of gold epaulettes drooping over his shoulders ; a greasy silk tie of mixed dark colours round his neck ; and a sword in his hand, but no belt or scabbard ; a forage cap with gold band which, when taken off, disclosed a head of shaggy hair standing out all round, like a halo, for about six inches. His features and person were small.

As I neared him, he gave the words, "Rear rank take open order, march" (no movement took place), "present arms." Arms were then presented, and the band played *God save the Queen*. We then shook hands, and I introduced the bishop and Oliver. The Governor then put his arm into mine, and led me into his house, and up a very bad and winding staircase, where, when I lost my footing, he gave me a jerk up. He also cautioned me at places where, being six feet tall, I was liable to get my head knocked. We were ushered into a long room, in one corner of which was a bed with mosquito curtains round it ; and, in the middle, a long table with a

white unmangled tablecloth. He led me to the upper end of the right side of this table, and gave me an armchair, and he occupied another at the head of the table. The Bishop sat on my right, and Oliver next to the Bishop, and my interpreter at the corner, between, and a little in rear of, the Governor and myself. I inquired after the King's health, and when he thought the coronation would take place. I also informed him that the King's flag had been hoisted on board the *Gorgon* when the *Gorgon* saluted; at which he seemed greatly pleased. There were other officers of the 9th, 11th, and 12th Honours present. He then invited us to drink the health of the King, and Queen Victoria; and two pint-bottles of bad champagne were produced and glasses filled. We then stood up, and he three times repeated "Radama veloma" (may you live long), each time raising his glass above his head, and, of course, we did the same. He then touched glasses with me and the Bishop. The minor Honours then drank the health of the King out of our glasses, in the dregs remaining in them; and the glasses were sent away to be washed, as it was not considered correct to drink two royal healths out of the same glass without its undergoing this operation. On the return of the glasses, the health of Queen Victoria was honoured in a similar manner to that of the king.

After some conversation, principally relative to the means of obtaining marmites to carry us and our baggage to Antananarivo, and arranging for our official landing the next day, we shook hands, and then the Governor again took my arm, and we all went downstairs, and out to the yard, where the guard presented arms. We mounted our palanquins, and returned to the landing-place, escorted, as we came, with a guard of honour and a band; and returned on board the *Gorgon*.

The next day we all landed, and were met, by the marmites with palanquins, and by some of the officers of high Honours, in very gorgeous scarlet and gold, and blue and gold uniforms of the time of King George the Fourth, and other periods; cocked hats with enormous plumes, smart forage caps, and shoes of black and white cloth. Then came the order, "Rear rank take open order, march, present arms." This last was, as usual, the only part of the order acted on. The band then

played *God save the Queen*, and H.M.S. *Gorgon* and the Fort saluted with fifteen guns. We mounted our palanquins, and were borne in procession to the Kabar House, or House of Assembly, situated in the same compound (courtyard) with that of the Chief Judge. Here we were met by Andriamandroso, the Governor. We sat in a row against the wall, the Governor in the middle of the room, in front of us, with his officials behind him, and against the opposite wall.

A few complimentary speeches were made on both sides, and then the King's health was proposed by the Governor. The band struck up the new Malagasy National Anthem, and the whole party stood up, with their glasses charged with champagne, until the music ceased; and then, with "*Veloma Radama*," the toast was drunk. The expression "*veloma*" is used in greeting or taking leave of a friend.

The National Anthem was the composition of Rainitsimba, the third Minister of Foreign Affairs, and musical composer to the King. The tune of the English National Anthem had previously been adopted, but the French considered this exhibited a too great preference for the English, and urged the claims of their national air. To avoid compromising himself with any nation, the King ordered a national anthem to be composed for Madagascar.

The Governor then proposed that we should visit the Fort, and drink Queen Victoria's health there; and requested to be allowed to proceed there a few minutes before us. He then left, and shortly after we received a message from him, inviting us to join him at the Fort.

The Governor was very magnificent, in a broad-tailed scarlet coat with much gold lace upon it, the tails gaping; pantaloons of dark blue velvet with gold stripes down the sides, and gold embroidery down the front; and a cocked hat with a very large feather.

The inferior officers were more distinguished by a want of clothing than by any extravagance of dress. A pair of cotton trousers, a shirt, a jacket, a low-crowned, wide-brimmed beaver hat, neither black nor white, and a sword without a scabbard, completed their equipment.

Before starting for the Fort, the following performance had to be gone through. First the troops were faced in the

direction of the capital, and presented arms to the King, the band playing the native National Anthem. When the band ceased, the officers all bowed low with their hands extended, hat in one hand and sword in the other; at the same time pronouncing the word "Ta-ra-nte" (God bless you). The second senior officer then ordered the troops to present arms to his superior, the band playing an appropriate tune. Then the senior officer ordered the troops to present arms to us, when the band struck up *The British Grenadiers*. We were then allowed to mount our palanquins, borne by Government slaves, and started in procession. The band led, then came the advanced guard of soldiers, then the officers in command, then the high officers in their palanquins, according to Malagasy precedence (the lowest in rank first and the highest last). We followed with an escort of soldiers on each side. Each palanquin was carried by four bearers, who, keeping step with the music, jerked the occupant up to the time of the tune; and this gave him, and the whole procession, a jaunty appearance. Each soldier was armed with a spear as well as a musket, in the usual fashion.

After entering the outer gate of the Fort, three guard-houses were passed in succession, at each of which the guard turned out and presented arms. Before passing through the sally-port, under the earthen parapet, we dismounted from our palanquins, and entered the enceinte on foot. Here we found troops drawn up, in two sides of a square, with a band at the further side of the square, in the middle of which was the flag-staff with the King's flag. We advanced to the flagstaff, and stood there while the same formula of salutes was again gone through. Then the Governor and the officers of high honours advanced, and one of them taking each of us by the arm, according to rank, conducted us into the Governor's house, where we were all seated at a long table, covered with a white cloth, in the lower room. On the table was a plate of biscuits.

After a little conversation, the General made a speech, and proposed the health of King Radama. The worst part of these toasts was that we had to wait until the glass of each person (some twenty or thirty persons were present) at the table was filled, and during this time the champagne got flat; and in spite of the endeavours of the attendants, who knocked

us in our faces in endeavouring to drive them away with their hands, the flies got into the wine, into which the attendants, with kindly attentions, put their fingers to flip them out. The Bishop, knowingly, put his hand on the top of his glass, which helped to preserve the effervescence, and keep the flies out. There was, however, a further delay, before we were allowed to drink this health, whilst a salute of twenty-one guns was being fired; and then we had to raise our glasses as high as our noses, three times, each time accompanying the action by the words "Rada-a-a-m-m-a Veloo-o-o-m-m-a," uttered with a dismal sort of droning intonation. Queen Victoria's health was then drunk with similar honours.

We returned as we came, the Governor accompanying us to the landing-place.

The Kabar House was given over for the use of the General, but as neither he nor the Bishop intended to leave the *Gorgon* until we should start for the capital, Oliver took up his quarters with me in it. It was the best house in Tamatave. It contained one large room, 50 feet long, papered with a French paper representing the battles in the Crimea. When marketing we paid two shillings for a turkey, and two shillings for four fowls, and no doubt we paid very much more than the proper market price.

It was intimated to me, through my interpreter, that the Governor intended, on behalf of the King, and in token of his friendship for the English, to present our mission, and the officers of the *Gorgon*, with four oxen, some bananas, sugar cane, and rice; and that he wished to know whether it was necessary for him to go on board the *Gorgon* to present them to the General. I told the interpreter to let the Governor know that I would undertake to receive these presents. I was aware he had a great objection to going afloat. This custom, of offering presents of some sort, was repeated by the head man of each of the villages at which we stopped on our way to the capital.

The following morning, the sailors from the man-of-war came ashore to kill the oxen, but they had not arrived, and did not do so until the next day, so they had no fresh meat on board that day.

In the afternoon at 3 o'clock we dined, in full uniform,

with the Governor, at the Fort. At 2.45, the General and the Bishop joined us at the Kabar House, and we started in our own palanquins to the Fort, with a guard of honour, consisting of an officer of 13th Honour, and a number of officers of minor Honours, soldiers, and a band; and were followed by a large crowd of villagers. With all the principal officers mounted on palanquins we formed a much larger procession than on either of the former occasions. The Governor met us in the square, inside the Fort, where were drawn up two sides of a square of infantry, and two bands. After the usual salutes, the Governor took the General's arm, and the 13th Honour took mine, and other Honours took the arms of the rest of our party, and escorted us into the dining-room of the Governor's house. Here we found an excellent dinner prepared, and nicely laid out. A clean white tablecloth, knives, forks, and spoons, good and clean, and green glass finger bowls. Bottles containing champagne and claret (these I had supplied), porter, French beer, vermouth, etc., were placed in groups at intervals along the table, with the cruets. The dinner service was plain white delf, perfectly clean. The soup was fairly good. The fish, fresh-water mullet, was well cooked. There were roast fowls, roast goose, curried fowl, duck, and goose boned and stuffed, raised pie, very good white bread (made by a Frenchman), cheese, sardines, prawns, etc. The following healths were drunk. The General, proposed by the Governor; the Governor, by the General; the officers of the Fort, by myself; the Bishop and myself, by the Governor; the 13th Honour, by the other officers; myself and Lieutenant Oliver, by the officers; the Chief Judge, by the Governor, etc.

The custom in the country being for the highest personage always to come last in a procession, and on every other occasion, the time had arrived to propose the health of the King and our own Queen. I suggested that they should be drunk together, as indicative of the friendship existing between the two countries respectively governed by them. This having been interpreted, by Andrianisa, to the Governor, he and all his guests expressed great pleasure at the suggestion and the Governor said that, on so great an occasion, it must be drunk in the upper room, and by about only five of the highest

Honours and ourselves. After a cup of excellent Madagascar coffee, we, the select few, repaired to the upper room, where we stood up with glasses of liqueur in our hands. The soldiers outside presented arms, the band played the two national anthems, and the Fort fired twenty-one guns, and we then drank the combined healths of their King and our Queen thus: "Rada-a-a-m-m-a, Victor-r-r-i-a, Veloo-o-o-m-m-a." I shook hands with the Governor, and he and all the rest appeared immensely gratified.

The General now began to appear weak, and I to doubt whether he would be able to travel to the capital. He found it too much for him to walk about a quarter of a mile when landing from the *Gorgon*. On the voyage from Mauritius he had complained of a slight attack of fever, from which he said he had always suffered at the time of the full moon, since he had had a bad attack of it in the West Indies.

On Saturday morning, about 7 o'clock, Adrianisa entered our compound, heading about 300 to 400 marmites, all carrying short bamboos for carrying our heavy luggage in advance. Our stores were brought out, and placed in front of the house, opposite to where the bearers were squatting down in a semi-circle. At a word from Andrianisa the whole of the men jumped up, and made an instantaneous rush at the baggage. It was like a troop of wolves on a flock of sheep. Each man tried to secure the smallest package, and fought his companions for it, throwing himself upon it, and clinging to it. A small box containing four pounds of candles was considered a great prize, and a great contest took place over it. The larger boxes and parcels were quite neglected. However, by the aid of some stout pieces of sugar cane, actively handled by myself, Andrianisa, and a servant, the ground was cleared, and the marmites were got back to their places, squatting down again. Then Andrianisa called each one in turn, by name, from his list. The first was told off to be one of those to carry the largest box. His face of terrible disgust was a sight. His nose seemed to retreat into his forehead. All the others laughed at him. The next came very reluctantly; and the next to him, when his name was called, tried to shirk, but, to save themselves, was pointed out by his companions. When we had got the complement for the box, we told them to remove it out of the way, and it

was with the greatest difficulty we could get them to touch it. When they did, they pretended it was tremendously heavy, and that they could not lift it. In the meantime others began to slink away, so we put some one over the gate to stop them. Then another rush took place, and the men began tying the things to their bamboos, each party of two men taking charge of the smallest packages. Then Andrianisa ordered them to undo the packages, etc., and doubled the quantities of each; they then struck to carry them. To ascertain whether it was that they could not or would not carry them, I offered to pay two men the pay of three men if they would carry them, but they refused this. I then left and went on board the *Gorgon*, and when I returned, two hours later, the best terms we could come to were, that three men should take two cases. This required 134 men (at three dollars, and half a dollar ration money, each man) to take our stores, which were then, at 3.30, arranged in order ready to start, but it was then too late to do so that evening. We were supplied with a guard of four officers and six soldiers to accompany and take charge of them. The French mission had taken 600 men for their party of ten.

That afternoon, I accompanied the General and Captain Wilson, and Oliver, to call on the British Consul and his wife.

It was very cold and damp at night. I slept in my ship's cot, swung from the ridge pole of the house, and Oliver slept in the General's palanquin.

At eleven o'clock at night, I was aroused by a knock, and had to turn out of bed, and go to the door of our house to receive the following letter from the General on board the *Gorgon*.

“MY DEAR ANSON,

I am most unwilling to interfere with any of your arrangements, and I would not do so under any ordinary circumstance. In the present instance, I do so for reasons of no personal nature, and only for those explained to you this afternoon. I will add to them, that a great deference is due to the Bishop, and he says it will be an inexpressible pain of mind to him if you carry out your present plans, and he adds the knowledge of their being carried out will cause great disappointment at the Mauritius.

I take all the responsibility upon myself of the change

I require. If the people think we play fast and loose, and break their engagement, let them go, we must take the penalty and delay our journey; but I do not in the least apprehend any such result. I shall be glad to learn that in this respect I am right; but if wrong, I take all the blame. I only ask you to have it explained to the coolies that the English never require work on the sabbath day; that their laws forbid it, and that we, as Englishmen, denounce it. I am very sorry to differ from you; I was in hopes we should have got through without any difference of opinion, and believe me to be, my dear Anson,

Yours truly,

M. C. JOHNSTONE.

Saturday Night."

Now the General and the Bishop were very well and comfortably put up on board the *Gorgon*, and neither of them had had anything to do, whereas I had been working hard all day, in a bad climate, over a very troublesome business; and the fear was that I should have all this work over again if we let the marmites go; and we might have difficulty in getting them to return, or in obtaining others, as their number was limited. There was also, on account of the approaching coronation, a great demand for them, for taking people and merchandise to the capital. It was all very well for the General to say he would take all the responsibility on himself, but he was incapable of doing the work. He described himself to Oliver and myself as an "old woman." The marmites would not understand about not working on the Sabbath, even were it explained to them.

The following morning I woke up with fever. The marmites were very kittle, and they required a good deal of tact to manage. They were easily huffed, and then they would quickly go away. I presented them with one of the four oxen which had been given us, reserving the hump, the best part, for ourselves. They divided the beast among themselves, cutting it up into very small pieces, and eating it, hide and all, This no doubt put them in a good humour, and prevented them from deserting.

On Sunday afternoon I went out in the rain, in a waterproof coat, to meet the Bishop at a neighbouring house, where he was holding a service, in French, to a congregation of

about twenty people. I had been shivery and unwell all day. After service, I walked with Oliver, and called on the Consul, and invited him and his wife to dine with us, but they declined.

On Monday morning, Andrianisa brought the marmites, and called the roll of them, and took the names of their masters, at the capital and elsewhere, to whom they were slaves. These slaves had to hand over to their masters a portion of the money we paid them. Some few were freed men. I, accompanied by Oliver, breakfasted with the Chief Judge. I felt very unwell, and had a sharp attack of malaria, and Dr Meller took me in hand at once, treating me with large doses of quinine, washed down with brandy and water. At night, Lieutenant Keppel (who has since died with the rank of Admiral); Ross, the surgeon; Devereux, a midshipman; and Sewell, the purser of the *Gorgon*, dined with Oliver, Meller, and myself, at our mess. The Governor of Tamatave sent his band. Ill as I was, I contrived to preside at the party. By the end of dinner, the members of the band, who had, unfortunately, been too well refreshed, each took to playing a different tune, and Sewell danced with the bandmaster. The whole scene was so utterly ludicrous, that, although I was annoyed, I could not help laughing heartily, and this, I believe, had a more beneficial effect on me than Meller's treatment.

The next day it became a question whether, in consequence of my illness, I should return to Mauritius in the *Gorgon*, or go on to the capital. The Madagascar fever is a dangerous one, but I determined to go on. I was lying in a semi-comatose state, under the influence of fever and quinine, in the General's palanquin, when a conversation was going on between the Bishop and the General. Something in it attracting my attention, I roused myself to make a very bad joke in connection with it, to their great astonishment. The Bishop remarked that he believed that if I were dying I should make a joke.

Dr Meller was a passenger on board the *Gorgon*. He was attached to Dr Livingstone's expedition, from which he was on leave for the benefit of his health, having had fever. I invited him to accompany us to the capital, in medical charge

of our mission. He was a very good, and he proved a very useful and agreeable, travelling companion. He was not an admirer of Livingstone, whom he described as a selfish man; and he told me that Livingstone objected to any of his party writing home descriptions of their doings, as it would interfere with the interest in the book he intended to write.

Meller was afterwards employed at Kew, in arranging plants, etc., in the museum there. He was also employed by the Government in visiting several of our colonies to ascertain the best descriptions of sugar cane for cultivation. He was offered the appointment of Vice-Consul at Madagascar, but was, on account of health, unable to accept it.

Tamatave is always damp. It is situated on a spit of sand at the junction of two slightly indented bays. The town consisted of two principal sandy streets, from 100 to 200 feet apart, and about 18 feet wide; bounded by fences of slight upright stakes, about 6 to 7 feet high. These streets ran in a direction from the point where the landing-place was situated to near the outer entrance of the Fort. There were a few better-class houses, but most of them were wretched huts, built with raised floors, under which fowls and other live stock took up their quarters. These floors were made only of small stakes, laid flat, with coarse mats on them, so that there was nothing to prevent the insects, which infested the birds and animals beneath, from entering the buildings. The walls were constructed of the leaves of the traveller's palm, skewered together by pieces of thin wood; and the huts were thatched with the same material, to a thickness of about 8 inches.

The few better houses, such as the Kabar House, were built of wood, and thatched with the leaves of the traveller's palm.

There was a market in a vacant space at the end of the town, near the Fort, where the vendors squatted on the ground by their goods; principally fowls, meat, rice, manioc, mats, grease, etc.

The scavenging of the town was thrown out in the outskirts; but much of the scavenging was done by the pigs and dogs, although they were not very numerqus, as the late Queen believed them to be objects of dislike to the idols.

The Fort, in front of which, during the reign of the late

Queen, the skulls of the English and French sailors who had been killed in an attack on Tamatave, some years before, had been exposed on poles, was a circular earthwork with an outer and an inner parapet, at about 20 feet to 30 feet apart, with a ditch between them. The guns, which, as the embrasures were constructed, could fire only direct to their front, were very ancient, and of small calibre. The Fort was situated to the north of the town, close to the sea, from which it was hidden by a clump of trees.

The people of Tamatave belonged to the same tribe that inhabited the neighbouring coast, and bore the name of Betsimasaraka. They appeared a quiet good-tempered people. There was always a considerable number of the slaves, belonging to the inhabitants of Antananarivo, in Tamatave, for the purpose of conveying merchandise, etc., to the capital. It was from Tamatave and Foule Pointe that the cattle were shipped to Mauritius and Bourbon (Réunion). It was not easy to distinguish the women from the men. Their hair was curiously arranged in small plaits, twisted into little knots all over their heads. I was informed that there were upwards of thirty different modes of arranging the hair in this fashion.

On Tuesday, the 22nd, I started the General and the Bishop about 11.30 a.m., and followed, with Oliver and Meller, about 12 o'clock, leaving Andrianisa to follow with the baggage. Together with those who carried our palanquins, the marmites numbered 266.

I observed the *nux vomica* growing freely along the sides of the road. We reached Hivondro about 3 p.m. Hivondro was a large village about nine miles from Tamatave. It was customary to halt there the first day; as, being a short day's journey, it gave the time and opportunity to get all the marmites and baggage collected before moving on. It not infrequently happened that some of the marmites would desert after the first day's march, and they could here be replaced. Another reason was that pirogues (dug outs) had to be engaged to go across, and three miles up the river, and as it took a long time shipping the baggage and unloading it again, it would be too late to reach the next halting village before dark. We proceeded through the village; the Governor's band,

which had accompanied us from Tamatave, playing in front. We had also a guard of honour of an officer and twenty men to escort us to the capital. Each man of the guard carried a musket and a spear. At the village a guard of three soldiers turned out and saluted us in the usual way.

I had sixteen marmites to carry my palanquin, and the General twenty. They worked four at a time, two in front and two behind. Every now and then one tapped his pole with his hand, when all four raised their poles over their heads on to their other shoulders. When relieving one another, without stopping the palanquin, one man ran in and took the end of a pole in his hands, while the man who had it ran out; the relieving man then put the pole on his shoulder. Going down a hill or mountain side, or at any other time, should one of the marmites slip, one by the side of the palanquin immediately seized his pole and supported it so that there was no fear of its falling. Going down hill, the marmites went at a run; on the level, at a jog-trot. Crossing a river, they held the palanquin up at arm's length above their heads. They were most cheery fellows, singing, and laughing, and joking in their own unknown language, all the way. They were most careful of those they carried, as well as of all their belongings. At the end of a march they stood by the palanquin until all its contents had been removed. These men got large wind-galls on their shoulders from continually carrying poles on them; and these wind-galls sometimes extended behind the neck, from one shoulder to the other.

Hivondro was a village of one street, about a mile long. The houses were built in the usual style of the country, on piles raised about a foot or rather more from the ground, and open underneath. There, as usual, pigs, fowls, geese, ducks, etc., congregated. The walls and roofs were made of the leaves of the ravenala, or traveller's palm, which grows in great abundance. This is the palm from which water flows when the base of the leaf-stem, near its junction with the bole of the tree, is pierced. The floors were rush mats, over brushwood. The village is situated on the bank of a pretty lake not far from the seashore.

Here we found our baggage, that had been sent on the day before us, and we also found that a number of the marmites

had deserted, not having approved of the large boxes they had to carry. However, on leaving Hivondro, I managed to engage some extra marmites and get the baggage sent on again.

I quartered the General and the Bishop in one hut, and Meller, Oliver, and I occupied one division of another, using the other division for our mess. I swung my ship's cot, as I did during all the rest of the march, from the ridge pole of the hut I occupied.

The following morning we left Hivondro in twenty pirogues. We were accompanied to the water's edge by the band and guard of honour that had escorted us from Tamatave, and then they took leave of us and returned home. We had given them a present and entertained the officer the night before.

At Andovaranto we were visited by a native lady, Princess Fische, the owner of our house. She was dressed in a white muslin skirt, with two cotton ones of different colours underneath it, and a buff-coloured jacket trimmed with black velvet. The Bishop wished to present her with a gauze handkerchief, but not liking to present it himself, he deputed me to do it for him. I folded it angle-ways, and placed it over the dark lady's shoulders, much to her satisfaction.

The following day, Sunday, we halted. Our landlady called again, and, having fever, was treated by Dr Meller. We received presents of fish, fowls, and rice from this lady, and from the relations of a native I brought with me as an assistant interpreter, and who was one of my police constables at Mauritius; also from the village Chief. The Bishop held a service here.

The next day we left the coast and commenced our journey inland, by proceeding, in sixty-five pirogues, up a winding river about 100 yards in width. In about three hours we entered another river, about 20 feet wide, and about a mile beyond reached Marombe, a tolerable-sized village, about 150 yards long, situated on the top of a steep bank and surrounded by water and small fields of paddy. The Chief, Razakarifo, had been educated as a child at a missionary school in England. This district is flat, and has excellent pasture for cattle; large villages are numerous, and much paddy is cultivated. We arrived at Manhambonitra at 3.45 p.m., having on the way crossed over undulating downs, with

deep hollows, and covered with traveller's and rúfia palms. The miles of brilliant green traveller's palms, with their leaves quivering in the wind, had a striking effect.

This evening, at dusk, some women and children came and sang to us. Two little girls held the ends of a piece of a thick bamboo between them, whilst three women with short sticks beat an accompaniment on it to the song they sang and to which a little girl danced. The women were dressed in short white jackets and skirts of Manchester coloured cotton pocket-handkerchiefs in the piece. The inhabitants appeared more prosperous and healthy, and there were more children about.

On our way to Ampassimbé we crossed many bright clear streams; over the shallow ones I rode on the back of one of my marmites, whom I adopted as my horse. He had nothing on but a cloth round his waist. I crossed my clasped hands on the top of his woolly head; and he embraced my knees, with his hands as stirrups. Broad, deep rivers I crossed in my palanquin, which was raised up at arm's length by the marmites, who turned the palanquin round in the river, so that I might ascend the opposite bank head upwards. From the top of one of the mountains, looking back, we obtained a view of the sea in the distance. We passed through the village of Mahela, stopping there only long enough to receive the usual salute and presents, and arrived at Ampassimbé at 12.45 p.m. Here we were entertained with music by some females, with an accompaniment on a bamboo. It was very cold at night, with a heavy mist. The village is surrounded by hills with grassy slopes, with trees and shrubs on their tops.

The following day we reached Beforona. The first part of the journey was through woods. At this place the houses were made of vacoa leaves, and were thatched with grass, the traveller's palm being scarce. The houses were bad, and there was only one comparatively large one. In this I established the General, the Bishop, and the mess. At Beforona I found the box with the Queen's picture, one of the presents that were being conveyed to the capital. It was the second package we had found left behind. I here bought a cow for meat for the marmites and ourselves. The walls of my 12-feet-square hut were made of vacoa leaves, flattened out. Meller, Oliver,

and I sat over a fire, on the floor, Meller skinning birds he was collecting for the British Museum. A native soldier was on guard in the corner. It was very damp and cold. It was here that the late Queen had delayed Madame Ida Pfeiffer and a Frenchman (Monsieur Laborde), who, having endeavoured to create a revolution at the capital, had been ordered to leave the country. Beforona was known to be a place where fever was prevalent, and the Queen's object was that they should contract it. This Madame Pfeiffer did, and she never completely recovered.

The next morning I started the General and Bishop on ahead early, as usual, and remained behind with Oliver and Meller to start the marmites with the baggage. The General was very cross about his luggage, and found fault because, in making up the weight of the loads for the marmites to carry, a couple of hams were placed on the top of one of his boxes, and my guncase on the top of another. He wanted the only indulgence that had not been accorded him, viz. to be able to have all his things carried into his hut without any trouble or inconvenience to himself. He was not a cheerful companion. He had had everything made as easy and pleasant as possible for him, and when asked if he wanted anything, always said he did not, and refused everything offered him; at the same time taking care to have everything he did want. He sat in his palanquin all day, reading a book on Madagascar, and did not seem to acquaint himself with anything connected with the country from observation, but only from what he read in that book. I did not think that he even cared much for his companion, the Bishop.

We arrived at Anevoca wet through and dead-beat. I had walked all the way, and felt very unwell and quite unable to go on. As the baggage had not arrived, I decided to remain here, especially as it was getting too dark to travel through the forest. It was a wretched wood-cutter's hut, in which the three of us put up, and we had our dinner cooked on the floor in a native pot, none of our mess-things having arrived.

The baggage did not arrive till 8 o'clock the following morning. The marmites had slipped about in the wood, and had slept there, and were covered with mud and quite exhausted. The road, a mere rough track and almost im-

passable, had been a succession of steep ups and downs. No sooner were we at the bottom of one hill, than we had to ascend another of considerable height. We had to scramble up them with the aid of a shod spear, and by pulling ourselves along by the aid of the tangled roots of the trees. When we arrived at Anevoca we found that the General and the Bishop, having made an early start before the rain began, and having no encumbrances, had been able to go on, a short day's journey, to the next halting-place, the village of Analamazoatra.

On arrival at Analamazoatra, I found that the General and the Bishop had gone on. On our way we had met large herds of cattle being driven down to Tamatave, to be shipped to Mauritius and Bourbon. It was a serious matter, meeting these huge animals with big horns, which came slipping and sliding and charging down upon us with very little room to pass; and adding to our troubles by cutting up the ground we had to pass over, with their feet.

This village formed a sort of square, with about twelve huts. I was still feeling unwell and fatigued. On Sunday I felt rested and better. I treated the marmites to a ration of rum, in which they drank the health of their King and our Queen, with appropriate "Velomas."

The sugar mill of the village was the trunk of a tree, with a groove running down the middle of its length, with each end resting on an upright support. Another shorter trunk, with pegs as handles driven into it at right angles, was placed across the other, and rolled backwards and forwards over pieces of sugar-cane. The juice caught in the groove ran down, through a hole in it, into a receptacle placed below. There were a few patches of sugar-cane, manioc, tobacco, and sweet potatoes near the village. Here we heard the noise of the babacootes in the forest. They are a large description of lemur, grey or brown, and, when upright, stand about three feet high. The natives believed that their ancestors had sprung from them. I purchased an ox for the marmites, and one of our men caught it, and dispatched it in a novel and very adroit manner. He ran alongside the animal, which was trotting, and, seizing its left horn in his right hand, flung himself in front of the animal, at the same time seizing the other horn in his left hand, and, with a sudden jerk, twisting the

animal's head round, and throwing it down on its back, with its horns on the ground, and cutting its throat. It was done almost instantaneously.

Here the marmites amused themselves by shooting small birds with blow-pipes and little arrows.

In the evening I heard men singing in a hut, and went out to listen. I looked into the hut, and saw twenty-two men packed as close as herrings in a barrel, with a fire in one corner. Near the fire sat a man who, with two or three others, was clapping his hands to keep time with the singers. My interpreter called upon them to turn out, and they formed in a circle outside, in the middle of the village; and the villagers all turned out also. There, some Hovas joining them, they sang the praises of Radama II., under whose reign there was safety for their wives and children. Also that during the late Queen's reign, this village was the boundary of the Hova's country, through which all must pass going to Tamatave or the coast; and no one was allowed to pass without a passport; all restrictions were removed. They also sang of the friendship between their King and the English.

The Hovas were the dominant race, and are supposed to have been Malays from Menankurbow, on the west coast of Sumatra, who, going forth in a fleet of prahus, on a warlike expedition, were carried away by a hurricane and landed in Madagascar.

After leaving Analamazoatra, in about four hours we reached Passamboatzy, when the country became more open and less steep, and there was more level and more English park-like ground, which was very pretty. We passed alternately through woods and over downs, with grass, ferns, etc., and arrived at Moromanga in eight hours. I had not now made use of my palanquin for three days. Just before arriving here we reached the top of a hill, where the forest ceased, and a vast grassy plain was visible, stretching from the foot of the hill we were on to the foot of mountains at the opposite side of it.

On arrival at Moromanga I found the General and the Bishop gone on again. Here I got a sheep for the first time, for which I paid 2s.; and saw a native sugar mill at work, pressing cane to obtain the juice to mix with bitter bark, to

make a native drink called *betsibess*. The huts, with earthen floors, were built partly of wood and partly of the leaves of traveller's palm, and were thatched with grass.

The following day we reached Amdramacobruck in an hour and a half, and the small village of Mangoro three hours later. Here we had to cross a river, about forty yards wide, in pirogues. We arrived at Ambodinangavo at five p.m., a nine-hours' march, including one hour's rest at the river.

From here a letter was sent by special messenger to Rahaniraka, the Minister for Foreign Affairs at the capital. Rahaniraka, when a boy, had been educated in England, at a missionary establishment near Waterloo Bridge.

The following day we had a steep climb up the pass of the Angavo mountain, about 1500 feet above the valley of the Vahala. Here we were in the woods again. We then made a precipitous descent into a valley, and crossed the Mandraka river. Ascending again, we came into open country with bare downs, and were then at an elevation of about 5000 feet above the sea. The first Hova village we met with was Ankera Madinika. This was a miserable, filthy place, but we found a small market being held, and, for the first time, we found potatoes for sale, as well as sweet potatoes and other vegetables. There were also camérons, a description of small fresh-water crayfish with long claws, the same as those found in Mauritius. Little children, of which there were a good many, brought us fowls for sale. The people here were of a lighter complexion, and had a more intelligent appearance. A man played on an instrument called a *valiha*, a piece of bamboo about eighteen inches long and four inches in diameter, with eleven strings, which were thin strips of the outer skin of the bamboo, cut along it without detaching them from the bamboo at their extremities. The strings were raised over bridges of bamboo wood. The sound of the instrument was rather pleasing.

Again we crossed bare downs, without trees or vegetation of any sort; but with large boulders of granite cropping out. In some of the valleys there were paddy fields, which looked bright and green in pleasing contrast to the bare downs.

We made our next halt at Ambatomanga. The view of the place, as we approached it, was imposing. It was more of a town than any we had yet met with. It was situated

on an elevation. The village was surrounded by a double moat, about eighteen feet deep. There was a house of one story, with verandahs in the middle of it. The upper part of it was not inhabited. The house was large but was dilapidated. It had been built by a former chief named Indriamatoaravolo, and was occupied by his heiress Rasoa. This smart lady asked for lemonade. The grown-up daughters turned out in white nightcaps.

The other houses had high roofs pitched at a sharp angle, with poles crossing one another at each end of their ridges. These poles extended for a short distance above the roofs, and had little birds carved on their tops. The roofs were covered with a very thick thatch of grass.

Many invalids came to Dr Meller for medical treatment.

After leaving Ambatomanga, at a place named Edien we came across the first attempt at a stone bridge we had seen. It was very narrow, and of a single arch, of about eighteen feet, across a brook. It was but a weakly structure. On the way we passed a considerable number of *fahitras*, or places for fattening cattle. These are holes in the ground, long and broad enough to hold an ox, and deep enough to enable the animal's mouth to be just above the level of the ground, where it is fed. The ground is sloped down to these pits, at the back, to enable the animals to be walked into them.

About an hour after passing Edien, we arrived at the top of a hill, and Antananarivo became visible in the distance, about ten miles away; the white palace standing out very conspicuously, with the sun shining on it. The marmites went into raptures at the sight of it, raising their arms, dancing, shouting, and singing its praises. Here we met with high bare downs, with large boulders, sharp fresh air, and a bright, clear blue sky. We observed a good many villages of neat appearance; the houses surrounded by mud walls. When we arrived at Betafo, we were met by a guard of honour with a band and a number of officers of high Honours in very elaborate uniforms and cocked hats. After the usual word of command to take open order, which of course was not obeyed, the troops saluted the King, facing in the direction of the palace; then saluted us, and then their commanding officer. We mounted our palanquins, and

proceeded in procession, with the band playing in front, up hill and down hill, over banks, across ditches, over paddy fields ankle deep in mud, and through rivers. My bearers went along in grand style. Sometimes my head was uppermost, and at other times my heels were. Notwithstanding this, much to the amusement of those of my party who could see me, I managed to lunch off a hard-boiled egg, and some brandy and water. I believe it turned out to have been the Bishop's lunch, and he was very huffy about losing it.

At Androsura, about two miles from the capital, we halted, and, after more salutes and entertaining the officers with refreshments, they and the escort left us at 4 p.m. Our house of wood and mud was warm and dry. It was at an elevation of about 5000 feet. I was not at all sorry to find myself so near our journey's end, for I was much fatigued, having suffered from fever and consequent weakness during the early days of it, and had walked most of the way, and over much difficult and very trying ground.

About 11.30 the following morning, we turned out in uniform, to be received by an escort to conduct us to the capital. There were many High Honours, twelve of whom were mounted on horseback, and dressed in blue velvet and gold uniforms, with cocked hats; and more officers, in various other uniforms of both English and French styles, modern and ancient. The soldiers were in old uniforms of the Coldstream Guards, with very old-fashioned French shakos, and armed with old Tower flint muskets, but without spears. The men of the band were in scarlet Hussar uniform, with forage caps. Our marmites turned out in clean lambas, goodness knows where they turned up from, but they made a smart appearance. After the same salutes as on the previous day, we mounted native palanquins provided for us, and started in a long procession. After proceeding about a mile and a half, we were halted in sight of the palace, when the troops went through the same course of salutes as before, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired, in honour of our arrival, from a battery in the town. Proceeding, we reached the gate of the town at 12.30. It was approached by a winding, roughly paved, steep ascent, between mud walls. The gateway was an old archway, in bad repair, with a guard house. Passing

on, we came to an open space, in which was the court of a former Chief Judge. Here we were met by the rank and fashion of Antananarivo, and, alighting from our palanquins, went through a course of hand-shakings. More salutes were gone through, and then, escorted by Razafinkarivo, on the staff of the Prime Minister, and two 13th Honours, the brothers Rabezandrina and Rabearana, aides-de-camp (all of whom had a slight knowledge of English), and accompanied by a considerable crowd, we were conducted to the quarters prepared for us. The General and the Bishop were established in the house of the Chief Judge. This was a good-sized building, with a large room between two smaller ones. I then went to another house near, in which I took up my quarters; and the rest of the party were provided for in the immediate neighbourhood. We had also a house appropriated to us for our mess.

The houses were built of wood with high-pitched roofs, with the extended poles, etc., as described in speaking of those at Ambatomanga. Many had lightning conductors attached to them. They were lined, and the floors covered, with clean, bright, rush mats, which gave them a cheerful appearance. The roofs had thatches about eighteen inches thick. There were no ceilings, and the insides of the thatches were covered with long pendant cobwebs, which were incrustated with soot from the wood fires, for the smoke of which there was no outlet. The inhabitants regarded these cobwebs as their penates, and would on no account have them removed; and the more there were, the more proud they were of them. My house was a fairly good one, and was divided into two rooms by a five-foot, not very air-tight, mat screen. I had a not uncomfortable bed in the inner room, to reach which I had to pass through the other room, in which women and babies slept. One of the women was the servant (slave) and guardian of the house, who sat at the door all day, and was most trustworthy. At each of our houses there was a similar guardian, who looked after our property in our absence. The Commander-in-Chief, and some of the principal people, had houses of considerable size, and with some good furniture in them.

In the evening I met the marmites, 420 in all, at the Kabary or Council ground, an open space in the town, and

paid each man his wages; and then treated them all to a bullock, for which I paid 30s., and the whole of which they cut up into small pieces and divided among themselves. This evening the King sent us a magnificent ox as a present. It had been fed for eighteen months in a *fahitra*, and was equal in condition to any prize Christmas beast in England. Its dimensions were, height to top of hump, 5 ft. 8 in.; round the girth, behind the hump, 7 ft. 8½ in.; round the base of the hump, 6 ft. 9 in.; round the cap of the hump, 2 ft. 6 in.; length from nose to buttock, 7 ft. 2 in.; behind hump to tail, 8 ft. 1 in.; from root of tail to ground, 4 ft. 9 in.; round the loins, 7 ft. 3½ in. I took these measurements myself. The hump alone weighed 82 lb. This I salted myself, to the best of my ability, and sent to the Governor of Mauritius. It just fitted into a cask that had contained four dozen bottles of beer. It reached Mauritius in a condition just good enough for some small portion to be eaten. The beast was cut up under my directions, and I kept so much of the best parts as we required for our use, and gave the rest to the marmites. It was splendid meat. The animal was so fat that it could scarcely move. It did not like the look of the Bishop's dress, and would have liked to go for him with its long horns, but could only look mournful, and shake its head at him.

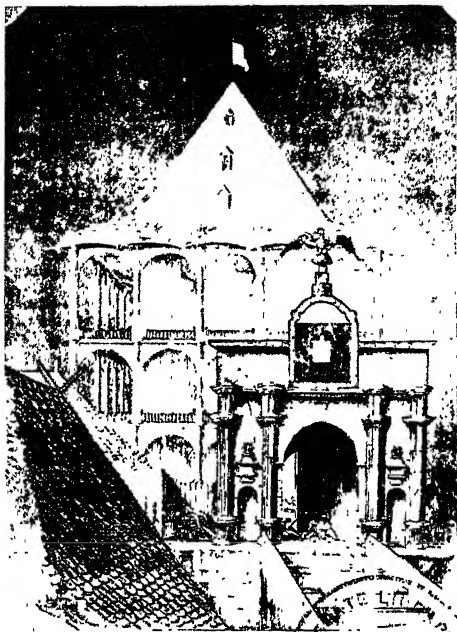
We received the King's permission the next day, the 9th, to fly the British flag, and were informed of his intention of sending all the High Honours of the Palace, a band, and guard of honour, to be present to salute it; and also that a salute of twenty-one guns would be fired on its being hoisted. I accordingly sent for a flagstaff, but as it had to be brought ten miles on men's shoulders, and was to consist of a large tree roughly trimmed, it would not arrive before the ceremony of hoisting the flag was to take place. I therefore, as a temporary arrangement, spliced together the ends of the two 18-foot poles of the General's palanquin, and erected them, and made them ready for running up the flag to the head of them. I had only just completed this, at 12.30, when the band, playing, entered our mess compound, followed by the High Officers and guard of honour. The noise of the band so upset the nerves of the King's present (the bullock), which at that time had not been slaughtered, that with great difficulty,

and some risk, it had to be removed before anything was done. An officer arrived to say the guns were ready, the High Officers formed in line in front of the guard, and the General was requested, by the commanding officer, to fall in on their right, with Oliver next to him, and to give the word of command. We were all in uniform. As soon as they had all taken their places, I hauled up the flag, and the General gave the word "present arms." The General and Oliver at the same time saluted in the usual manner, the north battery fired a salute of twenty-one guns, and the band played *God save the Queen*. All this was done in honour of the British flag being again hoisted in Madagascar after an interval of thirty-four years. It had been first hoisted in the capital, by Mr Hastie, in 1820, and hauled down by Mr Lyall in 1828. This ceremony over, we invited the officers into our mess-room, where we entertained them, the General proposing the health of the King, and I the joint health of their King and our Queen. The whole affair went off to the great satisfaction of all concerned.

Later in the day, the flagstaff, a flattish pole 40 feet long, arrived. I erected this, and from it our flag was visible for many miles beyond the capital. The French deferred the hoisting of their flag until the 15th, the fête day of their Emperor.

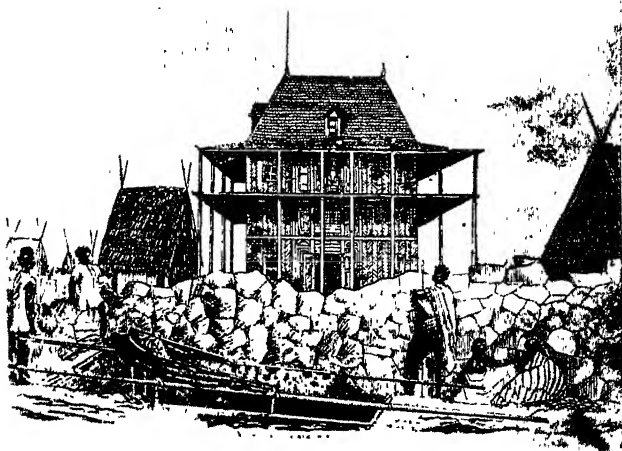
On our arrival at the capital, Commodore Dupré sent his card to the General, but did not call personally upon him. The General sent Lieutenant Oliver with his card to Commodore Dupré, and to ascertain whether the Commodore intended to call first, but the Commodore claimed equal rank with the General, and, on account of having arrived before the General, expected him to call first.

The capital is situated on a long irregular hill, about 500 feet above the ground around it. On its highest part are situated the greater and the lesser (or Silver) Palaces. The greater has a height of 120 feet, and has the Voromahery, the great bird, or sacred eagle with outstretched wings, on the top. These buildings were very conspicuous for a great distance from the surrounding country. The western side of the hill is more precipitous, and on this side what was designated by Mr. Ellis "the Tarpeian Rock," was situated.



THE PALACE, ANTANANARIVO.

Drawn by Captain Oliver, R.A.



HOUSE OF THE CHIEF OF AMBATOMANGA.

Drawn by Captain Oliver, R.A.

[Facing p. 188.]

On the evening of our arrival, I was visited by three ladies, native Christians, who arrived with hymn-books in their hands.

On Sunday, the 10th, the Bishop held a service in his and the General's sitting-room, at which the English gentlemen who had come from Mauritius were present with us, as well as Rabafaniraka, the son of Rahaniraka. Oliver struck up the 100th psalm, the Bishop joined in with variations, but it was not altogether a success.

About 11 o'clock the following day we went in uniform, escorted by a guard of honour, to our official reception by the King. We entered the Palace square through an arched gateway, but before doing so we alighted from our palanquins and then mounted the twelve steps leading up to it. The entrance was guarded by two soldiers, who prevented any person from entering without permission from the officer on duty, by bringing their muskets, with fixed bayonets, crossed in front of the entrance. On the summit of the gateway was the Voromahery. There was a small brass gun on each side of the gateway, the roof of which was covered with wooden bardeaux. On entering the large courtyard of the Palace we found three hundred troops in full dress, drawn up in two sides of a square; a band; and a number of officers. On the left of the courtyard was the tomb of Radama I., to which we were requested to take off our hats. We were then saluted, the band playing *The British Grenadiers*, and passed on to the door of the Silver, or smaller, Palace, where we were met by Rahaniraka, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who ushered us into a large room elaborately furnished, and with a handsome polished floor of different coloured woods. The King and Queen were seated at the upper end, in chairs covered with old-fashioned silk brocade. The General, introduced by Rahaniraka, bowed, and then shook hands with the King and Queen. The Bishop, myself, Oliver, and Meller in succession went through the same formalities. The General then made a speech and presented Queen Victoria's letter, which was read and interpreted to the King by Rahaniraka, who was dressed in light green velvet tunic and trousers, heavily embroidered with gold. The Bishop then made a speech, and presented the big Bible, with Queen Victoria's autograph in

it, which had been conveyed to the Palace in a palanquin by two of our servants. Then I addressed the King, informing him that I was entrusted with certain presents for him from Queen Victoria, but that they had not yet reached the capital, and begged that he would grant me an opportunity of presenting them to him on a future occasion. We were then all requested to sit down. There was a considerable suite of High Officers of the Palace behind the King and Queen, and the ladies of the Court sat in a row in a line at right angles to them, on their left. In front of the King and Queen, and each of the ladies, was a rather common coloured wash-hand basin, into which from time to time they expectorated the mixture of powdered tobacco and wood ashes, which they had placed in their mouths, under their tongues. With this exception, the proceedings were conducted in a correct and dignified manner. We were seated in a row at right angles to the King and Queen, and facing the ladies. The King, who was thirty-three years of age, was dressed in a plain scarlet tunic with a sash. The Queen looked older. She had on a white satin dress, trimmed with pink ribbons; she had mittens on her hands, and a gold chain and some small ornaments on her neck. The King and Queen stood up, arm in arm, to receive us. The ladies in the row exhibited a wonderful display of costumes, impossible to describe.

Mr Ellis,* having intimated to me that no one had addressed the Queen, and that she expected it, I went up to her, and, interpreted by Rahaniraka, informed her that Queen Victoria had been mindful of her and, through me, had sent her a present. At this she brightened up and looked much pleased. I told the King I felt gratified that I had been permitted to raise the British flag, on the first occasion again, in his capital. After drinking the healths of the King and Queen, Queen Victoria, and Queen Victoria and the King combined, we retired, and passed out of the court of the Palace, where the guard saluted us and the band played.

* The Rev. William Ellis was the head of the London Missionary Society's Mission to Madagascar, and the author of *Madagascar Revisited*, and other works on Madagascar. He commenced his mission work in 1816, in the South Sea Islands. I greatly appreciated what I saw of his work in Madagascar, and we became great friends. Mr Ellis's life was written by his son and published by John Murray in 1873.

At 12 o'clock on the 13th, an officer of the Palace came in plain clothes to escort the Bishop and myself to a private interview with the King and Queen, in the Queen's Palace, in rear of the large white Palace. Rahaniraka interpreted. The Bishop presented the King with a Bible, from himself; and I gave the Queen a diminutive photograph of Queen Victoria, which was magnified in a watch key. We conversed on various subjects and then took leave. Mr Ellis visited the King every day, and taught him English.

After leaving the Queen's Palace, we went to inspect a new stone schoolhouse the King was building. It was one-storied, with a thatched roof of grass. The King, the Bishop, and myself then went into a schoolroom, in occupation, close by, and there we heard a class sing hymns, native Hova songs, the praises of Antananarivo, the praise of Radama (the National Anthem composed by Rainitsimba, 3rd Honour, an officer for Foreign Affairs under Rahaniraka). These songs were all in the Malagasy language. The singing was lively and good. The King was devoted to music, and so were all his people. Many of the High Honours, who had escorted us into the capital in magnificent uniforms, appeared here in rather poor plain clothes, leading or joining in the singing class very enthusiastically. Rainitsimba was seized with sudden inspiration, and composed music as fast as he could write it, on a scrap of paper, as he stood among the class while they were singing. He had composed a good many songs. Rahaniraka's son, Ramaniraka, who was private secretary to the King, led the class part of the time.

The King had accompanied us from the Queen's Palace, with a guard of soldiers in front and on either side of us. The soldiers stopped and brought their muskets to the charge at every opening or cross path, to keep back the people, who *velomed* the King with their hats off.

In the evening, we gave an entertainment to some of our gentlemen and lady friends, in our mess-house; at which I induced the General to be present. Our mess table was formed of two large boxes of unequal dimensions placed near one side wall, along which was a low narrow form, and on this the ladies were seated. On boxes placed as seats about the room the gentlemen were accommodated. The slaves

were squatting in the usual manner. On the table was spread a railway wrapper of Oliver's. I placed the General at the head of the table, and sat next him, on the end of the ladies' form. The musical instruments were, a fiddle, played by a slave, and a curious apology for a harp, made out of a bamboo. On these instruments the accompaniments to the songs, which were all English psalms in the Malagasy language, were played. Later in the evening, one of the officers of the Palace arrived, and brought two of the musicians of one of the King's bands, who played a flageolet and a corneopean. We entertained our guests with coffee and champagne, and *velomed* one another very cordially. The General addressed first the ladies, and then the gentlemen.

At gunfire our party broke up, no one, except ourselves, being allowed out of doors after that time. There were a thousand police on duty in the town at night, who were continually shouting, the night through, what sounded like "ahwo." It was a terrible noise, and made night hideous. The shouting was to show that they were on the alert; and I was informed that the object of keeping people at home at night was in case of fire, the houses being all of inflammable materials.

The General received a letter from the Governor of Mauritius, expressing the hope that he would be able to remain for the Coronation, which had been put off to the 23rd of September, it having been found that there would not otherwise be time to collect all the tribes, some of which were not very loyal, and the King was afraid of offending them. In his letter the Governor made it imperative that I should remain, and this was certainly my intention, for the Coronation.

One of the marmites who carried my palanquin from Tamatave came to pay me a visit, and remained to talk to me, through my interpreter, for half an hour; and although he had the itch, I had to shake hands with him. The natives showed great affection, and a little kindness went a long way with them. This was the man on whose back I had ridden across many rivers and streams, with my arms round his neck, or my hands clasped on his woolly head.

On the 13th August, I accompanied Mr Ellis and

the Bishop to visit the places, round the town, where the Christians suffered martyrdom during the reign of the late Queen. We proceeded in palanquins, with four marmites to each, to the southern extremity of the hill on which the town is situated. Just below its crest, at this place, there ran a ditch, part of some ancient fortification. It was at the upper edge of this ditch that some of the Christian martyrs suffered. They were conveyed there, slung on poles, carried between two men. They were then made to squat down on their heels, and two men then thrust spears into their loins. They fell forward into the ditch, and died, and their bodies were left to be devoured by the dogs and crows. Some of their bones were still lying there. These unfortunate people had their mouths plugged with rags to try and prevent them singing hymns as they were carried along, which, however, they contrived to do, until they were dispatched. Their heads were afterwards cut off, and stuck on poles, and placed round the top of a small mound, about fifty yards off. On this mound I saw the lower portion of a cross, on which malefactors had been crucified and some Christians had suffered for their religion. The lower portion of the cross was still in the ground, but most of the upright post had been broken off, and was gone. One arm of it was, however, still lying on the ground below the mound. From above the ditch, was pointed out to us the spot, in the valley below, where those Christians were put to death whom the old Queen pretended had mixed themselves up in the conspiracy against the Government with Monsieur Lambert and Madame Ida Pfeiffer.

We then descended the hill, and came to the base of Amparnarinana (the Tarpeian Rock). This was the rock over which criminals were formerly thrown; and latterly, over which many Christians, who refused to abjure their faith, were hurled. Here, on one occasion, eighteen Christians suffered martyrdom in this way. The place to which these people fell was indicated by the bones of some of them still remaining there. When the bodies were not removed and burnt, the friends and relations of the martyrs came at night, on hands and knees, and collected and removed the bones, from which the flesh had been devoured by the wild cats, dogs, pigs, and crows, and buried them. This rock had a slope of a few feet

at the top, then it projected over a fall of about ninety feet, to a sharp slope of about one hundred feet. At the bottom of the fall, where the bones were lying, were two small peach trees.

In addition to the eighteen martyrs, there was a good-looking young girl condemned to be thrown over the rock, but the Queen was anxious that she should, if possible, be saved, and therefore gave orders to the executioners to reserve her to the last, and then ask her to strive to obey the idols. This, however, she refused, and begged them to throw her over. The executioner then struck her on the face, and said she was mad, and sent to tell the Queen so. She was, in consequence, sent off into the country, and detained there. She eventually married a Christian, and had died about two years before I visited Madagascar. Proceeding on our way, we passed the house of a man who had been imprisoned as a Christian, and who, whilst in confinement, had converted his gaoler and formed a congregation consisting of the prison attendants. Further on we passed a small burying-ground, about twenty yards square; covered with coarse weeds and bushes. It contained the grave of Mr Hastie, who, about 1819, had been sent from Mauritius to instruct the Malagasies in military and other matters. Beyond that, we came upon the building, with its belfry, in which the first missions were established, about the year 1820. When Mr Ellis visited the capital in 1857, he found this building converted into a prison for persons confined for professing the Christian religion. The Sunday before I saw it, eight hundred Christians had worshipped there, and General Johnstone had been present on the occasion.

After this, we ascended to the crest of the hill, at the north end of the town, and came to a spot where four nobles had been chained to a stake and burnt to death, and where the eighteen bodies which had been thrown over the rock were burned at the same time. Three of these nobles were men, and one was a woman, whose child, which was born at the stake, was pushed into the flames by the executioner and soldiers. These nobles were burnt to death, because it was not lawful to spill the blood of nobles.

The soldiers who stood guard round the stake asked

the martyrs where was their God, that He did not come and save them; and they, pointing upwards, said, "We are going to Him, He is waiting for us." They did not cease singing hymns, waving their hands to their friends, and throwing pieces of their garments to them, until they became insensible. Their friends came, on hands and knees, at night, to remove any bones that could be found. The soldiers did not prevent them, as they thought they came to look for anything of value that might have been about their persons, as they were nobles.

All these accounts were given me by one of those who accompanied us, and who had been an eye-witness of the scenes he described. Another of them was the brother of one of the eighteen victims whose bodies had been burnt, and he was much affected during the narration. He had afterwards been in hiding to avoid a similar fate.

Mr Ellis had decided to build a church on this place, as well as on the other places where the martyrs had suffered.

Except the comparatively few converts to Christianity, the general population had no real religion. They worshipped their ancestors, and had some idols, in which, however, they seemed to place little faith. I found the people very friendly, and all the neighbours near my house frequently visited me, and shook hands very cordially. Talking to Rahaniraka about the persecutions of the Christians, and the cruelties committed on them, by the late Queen, and remarking what a wicked woman she must have been, he said, "But what about your 'Bloody Mary!'"

After leaving the foot of the Tarpeian Rock, on our way to the small burying-ground and the belfry, we passed over the plain, or "Champ de Mars," called the Mahamasina, about eight hundred by six hundred yards in extent, on which is a circular erection, a few feet in diameter, on the top of which is the holy stone on which, according to custom, the Sovereigns stood at their coronations. The ground was being marked out for the positions to be taken up by the different tribes on the Coronation Day.

In the evening, in company with Meller, I went to see Rahaniraka, who was suffering from asthma, for which Meller treated him. We then visited Rainivoninahitrony, the Prime

Minister, whom we found in bed with rheumatic gout. Meller prescribed for him also. He was on a bed consisting of two mattresses, on the floor, in the corner of the room, with curtains hanging from the low ceiling. His number two wife was sitting on the further side of the bed, near the wall, and a few officers in plain clothes, some friends, and some slaves, were in the room.

The next day, Meller and I again visited the Prime Minister, poulticed his foot, and showed him Meller's rifle and my Enfield.

On the 15th, the fête day of the Emperor of the French, we dined with the members of the French mission, on the invitation of Commodore Dupré and Monsieur Laborde, the French Consul. We sat down at 2 o'clock, a party of fifty, including the King and Queen, who sat at the head of the table. The former was dressed in a neat suit of plain clothes, and the latter in a dress of yellow satin, with lace and high ruffles on her shoulders, and a handsome raised gold and diamond ornament on her head. At the dinner, which was given in a tent, and which lasted until 5 o'clock, the healths of the Emperor of the French, Queen Victoria, King Radama and his Queen, were drunk separately, and afterwards collectively. The health of the General and our mission was drunk, and that of the Governor of Mauritius, also that of Monsieur Laborde, and Commodore Dupré and his mission. The *entente* was *très cordiale*. The General made a speech in French, which gave great satisfaction. The Commodore and Monsieur Laborde came to me after dinner, in great delight, and, tapping their breasts, said the General had "spoken to their hearts." There was a lady seated by the side of nearly each gentleman. The lady on one side of me was the daughter of Rahaniraka; the lady on my other side had not been aware of the strength of champagne, with which she had been very unkindly plied by a captain of the French Marine Artillery, on her other side. In the middle of the table was a calf cooked whole, which did not look inviting. During dinner a band played Malagasy and European airs. At dusk we all adjourned to the house and dancing commenced. The Queen opened the ball with Commodore Dupré. Her Maids of Honour were very smartly dressed, and were partners for us

in the dances. The party broke up at 10 o'clock, and the King and Queen retired in procession, the Queen in her palanquin, with the King's band playing, the guard with fixed bayonets, and the rear brought up by the singing women, clapping their hands in accompaniment. The people turned out of their houses, and lighted the way with flaming torches, and shouted, "Tarantitra Tsara Tompiko Velomo Radama," in a drawled-out manner.

The Queen's ladies were also in palanquins, and she and they had put on rich coloured silk lambas, and each had her attendant slaves, in white lambas, surrounding her.

At 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th, we dined by invitation of the King. But that meant that, at his invitation, we dined at the house of the second Commander-in-Chief; and that the King did not dine, but contributed thirty dollars, and thirty bottles of wine, towards the entertainment. Rainivoninahitrony was Commander-in-Chief as well as Prime Minister, and his brother Rainilairivony was the second, or executive, Commander-in-Chief. At the dinner, I sat next to Princess Razanjaza, one of the Royal Family, and daughter of Prince Rambosolama, the late pretender to the throne. She was one of the Court beauties. The dining-room, in which we afterwards danced, was very large, and handsomely arranged in the style peculiar to the place. The whole of the frieze was formed of a row of small cheap looking-glasses in gilt frames, such as were formerly sold at fairs, or by "cheap-jacks" in England; but the effect by candle-light was good. We sat down thirty-five to dinner, at a very large table, about 20 feet wide, with the corners rounded off, and handsomely arranged with candelabras, epergnes, and vases of flowers. Everything in turn was removed from the table, and served from another room. We had soup to begin with, and then about fifty different courses, of fish, flesh, and fowl; of which seven at least were curries of some sort. My only means of conversing with my neighbour was through my Malagasy constable, of the Mauritius police, whom I had brought with me as my temporary servant, and who stood behind my chair. He may have said all sorts of polite things on my behalf, without my knowledge. The General and the Bishop left as soon as dinner was over, and the rest of the

party retired for a short time to another room, while the tables were being pushed aside; when dancing commenced. Then some of the ladies sang native songs; and after that, they danced the *Ségar*, their national dance, similar to that of the old African negroes at Mauritius.

In the morning, I had gone with Oliver to meet our Consul and his wife, who had just arrived, and brought them to breakfast at our mess-house.

On Sunday, the 17th, the Bishop performed service at his and the General's house.

At 7.30 a.m., on Monday, the 18th, I went to the Palace, where I was joined by Oliver who, with a number of the King's slaves, assisted me in unpacking Queen Victoria's presents to the King and Queen. We arranged the full-length portrait of Queen Victoria, resting on an ottoman, leaning against the wall, by the side of the King's and Queen's chairs of State, and then gave it three cheers, which greatly impressed those present. It was 10 o'clock before all was arranged, and then I received a message from the King to say he would come to receive the presents at 1 o'clock.

The Bishop left for Tamatave and Mauritius early in the morning, and was followed by Meller, with whom I was very sorry to part. He was very anxious to remain with me; and said if I would give him an order, he would do so; but I told him I was unable to do this, as his arrangement with me was only a private one. The *Gorgon* had returned for him and the Bishop, and he was bound to the *Gorgon*, which was his only means of returning to Livingstone in Africa. He had been most active and energetic in his researches; useful and instructive, and an agreeable and good-tempered companion to us, and exceedingly kind and attentive to the natives who had applied to him for medical assistance and advice. He was quite knocked up one day in going about the town visiting the sick. I often accompanied him on his visits to patients, and by this means became acquainted with the family life of many of the families, both rich and poor. When leaving, he handed me over all his medicines, and I virtually became M.D. of Madagascar, and attended many patients after he left, including many children.

Among the things Meller took with him was a new

description of duck, which I had shot, and he skinned; and which, when sent to the British Museum, was named a Melleri. When he mentioned that it should have been named after me, he was told it was too late to alter the name.

At 1 o'clock I went to the Palace, in full uniform, with the General and Oliver.

The English party joined us, and almost immediately the King and Queen entered, arm in arm, from an adjoining room, followed by their suite. After bowing, and then shaking hands, we were invited to sit down. The King was dressed in his scarlet tunic, and the Queen in a white satin dress, with a pink, blue and white sort of turban on her head.

Presently I got up and, accompanied by Rahaniraka as interpreter, approached the King, and, in the name of Queen Victoria, requested his acceptance of the presents. These consisted of a full-length portrait of Queen Victoria, similar to those supplied to the Colonies; a highly finished rifle in a case, a complete suit of field marshal's uniform; a handsome large crimson umbrella; a silver-gilt tankard and six goblets; and a full band of twenty-five musical instruments.

The King and Queen then stood up and shook hands with me, and said, "Veloma Andriamanitria," and examined the presents quietly, and seemed pleased with them. The King, who was very fond of music, and had three bands of his own, was especially pleased with the musical instruments. He sent for his chief bandmaster, and made him try each instrument in his presence. After they had finished their inspection of the presents, I crossed the room to where I had arranged a very magnificent, long-trained, crimson velvet robe, heavily embroidered in gold; and, addressing the Queen, presented it as Queen Victoria's present to her. She looked much pleased, shook hands with me, and said "Veloma," and presently tried on the robe, and walked over to the mirror to see its effect.

I then proposed the King's health, to be drunk out of the goblets, and in this the Commander-in-Chief, Monsieur Laborde, and General Johnstone joined. The King then proposed the health of Queen Victoria, which was duly honoured. Our Consul and his wife were afterwards introduced to the King, who with the Queen, sat in state to

receive them, and Rahaniraka interpreted a written speech of the Consul's, and also his exequatur.

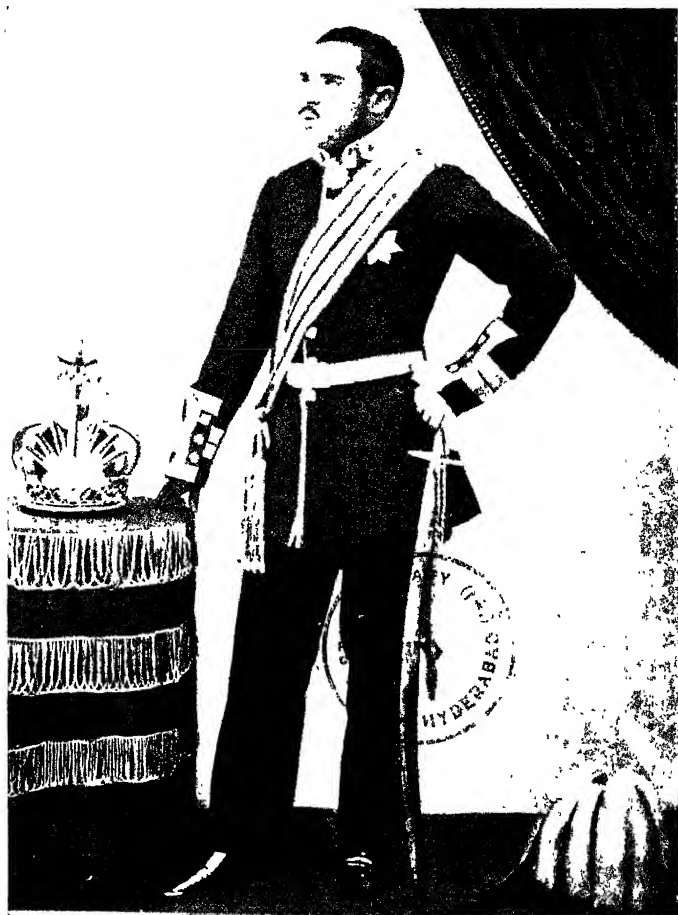
On the 20th, in the evening, I had all the King's singers, including Prince and Princess Romonge, about forty people in all, at a musical party. They sang native airs. I had invited them to come after dinner, but they came before, and left at 8 o'clock, when our quiet neighbours came in to see us for half an hour.

On the morning of the 21st I walked with Oliver to the King's house and garden, at Mazorevo. As we passed down the hill from the east gate of the town, we met some men, carrying the common rush baskets, who called out to us to keep the other side of the road. It appeared that they were carrying the water to the palace for the King, and no one was allowed to come near it. Water was very scarce in the town, and we had to pay at the rate of sixpence a week for it to be brought up the hill. Further on, we met a party, one of whom was carrying a silver spear on a round tin staff. This was the symbol of the King, as Justice. If planted in front of a house, no one was allowed to leave it. The party were going to arrest a woman, at two days' march from the capital, who had declined to acknowledge the King as rightful heir to the throne.

The King's garden was looking pretty, with prune and mango trees in full bloom; and the purple water-lilies in the pond were very fine. The garden was laid out with narrow strips of grass between the beds.

On returning to the town, we looked in at the Court of Justice, where the King presided. He sat in a rickety iron chair, at the side of an unfinished stone building, and was dressed in a suit of native material, of stout rough silk, of a pale greenish colour; and had on his head a cap of tanned leather, made from the hump of an ox, pressed into shape, with a portion of the skin attached as a peak. This description of cap was worn by many of the young men about the Royal Court.

The Court of Justice was an open-air court, in which twelve officers, acting as judges, decided the cases. When they could not agree, the case was referred to the King, who, after hearing the witnesses and the opinions of the judges, decided the case. A case had just been decided when we arrived.



RADAMA II., KING OF MADAGASCAR.

Late in the afternoon, I took Oliver with me to the King's Stone House, where were assembled the King, the members of the French Mission, and Monsieur Laborde. Some of the Chiefs of the Sacalava, a rather turbulent tribe, had just arrived at the capital with a great number of their followers. The Chiefs and a few followers were present, with some of their wives and children; and I saw the Head Chief and the principal men doing homage to the King, holding their muskets pointing downwards. The Chief had what appeared to be a curious head of hair, dressed in an immense number of very narrow plaited tags, about four inches long, with a small knot at the end of each, and greased with beef fat. I told Andrianisa, my interpreter, to try to obtain one of these tags for me. It turned out that they were not the man's hair, but locks of a wig made of the leaf of the *rùffia* palm; and I obtained the whole wig for a dollar (5-franc piece). I sent it home to my brother; but by the time it reached England, the fat had turned rancid, and the wig had to be got rid of, on account of its objectionable odour.

The Chief and his followers danced their native dance, waving their muskets about, and afterwards sang their native songs. There were also some of the Betsilio and Betsimasaraka tribes present, who danced their respective dances, and sang their native songs. These tribes had arrived for the purpose of being present at the forthcoming Coronation.

The 22nd, Friday, was the great weekly market day, named *anzoma*, to which I went. It was exceedingly crowded, with some thousands of people, and there was hardly standing-room in it. There were mounds of earth, about 12 feet square and 18 inches high, on which the goods were placed to keep them out of the wet during bad weather. Over some of these were propped umbrellas made of *rùffia* cloth; and over others screens of papyrus mats. There were oxen; fat-tailed, red and white, black and white, smooth-haired sheep, similar to the Aden sheep; turkeys; geese; ducks; fowls; rice; pineapples; potatoes, both sweet and the English sort; grapes; sugar-cane; bananas; manioc; silk in cocoons; locusts; pottery; cotton; hardware; lambas of *rùffia*, of cotton, and of silk; horn spoons; ground nuts; hats and caps; scissors; knives; brooms: tools for cultivating paddy;

and many other articles. I purchased a sheep and four well-grown lambs for 5s. 6d. the lot. The sheep, the best in the market, was 1s. 6d.; a good fat turkey was 1s. 6d.; a good pig from 4s. to 6s.; and an ox from 9 to 15 dollars. Fatted fowls, 6d. each. The price of beef was at the rate of about 6 lbs. for a penny. I was informed that the price of rice at harvest time was a dollar (French 5-franc piece) for 24 bushels; and in September the same price for 9 bushels. There were two plantings, an early and a late one, in each year.

We paid four dollars per month for each of our houses.

On Saturday we dined with Rahaniraka at 6 p.m. His drink, an ordinary one among the natives, was a sort of coffee made by pouring water over the burnt rice which adhered to the pot in which the rice had been boiled; and of this he drank a large bowl.

On Sunday, the Bishop having left us, I read the service in the morning to our party, which was joined by a Malagasy. I also accompanied the General and Mr Ellis to join Mr Ellis's congregation at the Belfry Church, which was very numerously attended by the native Christians. The native preacher at this church had been, in the old Queen's time, for years in hiding on account of his religion; and his wife was one of those who were punished for the same cause, by being joined in groups of fours and sixes by very thick and heavy bars of iron, connected at distances of about a foot, with rings of equal substance round their necks. They had also heavy iron rings round their ankles, and, not being sentenced to be executed, they were sent to an unhealthy district that they might catch the fever and die. When one died, his or her head was cut off and the body dragged away from the ring, which was left as an additional weight to be borne by those still living. The feet were also cut off, in order to remove the ankle rings.

Radama II, before he came to the throne, had about forty followers who were bound to him by an oath. They were named Menamaso, which means "red eyes," because their eyes were supposed to have become red from watching. They acted as a sort of detective bodyguard about the King. Their principal duty was to inform their Prince of any cruelties that had been ordered by the Queen, his mother, and he then appealed to her on behalf of those condemned, and was often

able to save them from torture or death. He said of his mother, that she was not by nature cruel, but was influenced by her wicked ministers, and the idol keepers, and by her belief in sorcery.

At 3 o'clock, I went with the General to the King's Stone School House, where he, in indifferent plain clothes, was present, surrounded by all his singers and dancers, sitting at the school desks. Mr Ellis went into a large pulpit in the corner of the room, and read prayers in English and Malagasy alternately, sentence by sentence; and Rahaniraka interpreted the sermon into Malagasy.

On the 25th, Monsieur Lambert, a Frenchman, returned to the capital, and was received much in the same manner that we were. Commodore Dupré informed us that Lambert had been received as the King's ambassador, on his return from France. The King and all the officers of the Court at his reception, at which we were present, were dressed in magnificent French uniforms. Colonel Lesline, the second senior member of the French mission, who sat next to me, told me that the Court always wore the uniform of the nation of the persons presented. But Lambert, although a Frenchman born, was the representative of the Malagasy nation, and he and the Court should have been dressed in the uniform of the Malagasy Court. There was some mystery about the official status of this man, and the Prime Minister being still laid up with the gout, I was unable to obtain any information from him in the matter. Lambert was accompanied by Monsieur Richard (Consul for Madagascar at the French colony of Réunion [Bourbon]), the son of Monsieur Laborde, and some other young Frenchmen. The King and Queen were both present, and stood up on the entry of Monsieur Lambert, who went up to the King, took his hand and kissed him on both cheeks. I was afterwards asked by the Prime Minister whether, were an ambassador sent from Madagascar to England, he would kiss the Queen in the same manner. I suggested it would be wiser for him not to try to do so. They were all indignant at the assumption of Monsieur Lambert. He was dressed in diplomatic uniform, and wore the Legion of Honour, and some other Order by its side, and the large star of the new Order of Radama underneath. When his

salutation of the King was over, he unfurled two national flags of Madagascar he had brought from Paris, and presented them to the King. The following healths were then drunk : the King, proposed by Lambert ; the Emperor of the French, Queen Victoria, and Radama, by Laborde ; the two Missions, by Lambert ; Lambert on his return, by Commodore Dupré ; the three Consuls, by Pakenham, who made a speech in French. The King had a fair knowledge of English, but knew scarcely a word of French, and the Malagasys were annoyed with Pakenham for speaking in French, especially as they were not at that time well disposed to the French ; moreover, they had not a high opinion of our Consul. The toasts had been drunk in various wines, liqueurs, and inferior quality beer, and those who, like the General, had stood close to the King, must have suffered some discomfort afterwards. I was fortunately able to keep my glass out of sight, and never emptied it. The King was amused at the corpulence of the three Consuls, and remarked in English, "All very fat," and placed his hands one on each side of Mr Pakenham.

In the afternoon, accompanied by Oliver and Andrianisa (to interpret for us), I called on the widow of the late Prince Rambosolama. Oliver was to have taken her portrait, but she did not consider herself sufficiently well-dressed, having on only a bright green hairy railway rug as a cloak, a white cotton dress, and basil leather slippers. Her house was one of the largest in Antananarivo, and the principal room on the ground floor was furnished and decorated in a manner very similar to the Palace, and the Commander-in-Chief's house. There was a magnificent canopied bed in one corner. I afterwards called on the Prime Minister, who was recovering from his attack of gout.

In the evening I attended, and prescribed for, two young children with fever.

There was a little girl of five years old, who came to see me every day, and brought me presents of small tomatoes, bibasses, manioc, etc. I presented her with a needle, and it was very amusing to see her, with a very solemn face, threading it, and going about all day trying to sew. One of her relations was among the unfortunate people who had suffered martyrdom. On the 26th, two young men who spoke a little

English, the old Queen having found it desirable that some of her people should be taught the language, came to me and said, "My fawther is va-ry seek," and asked me to go and doctor him. They supplied me with a palanquin and four marmites to carry me; and I was conveyed to some distance off in the town. I found the poor old man was hopelessly ill with half the complaints known in medicine. I had to prescribe something for him, for my credit's sake.

Later in the day I accompanied Oliver to the Stone School House, where I found the King reading the Bible with Mr Ellis. He read like a good little child. Only the Menamaso were present. I had a talk with the King, and he remarked upon the similarity of some of the customs in Madagascar to those of the Israelites in the wilderness; and instanced that of the idol keepers, who went before any great procession and carried a light, which represented that which preceded the Israelites during their wanderings.

After breakfast, on the 27th, I went to see Rahaniraka; then to his nephew, Razanakombana, 13th Honour, who showed me the vocabulary written, in Malagasy and English, by Rahaniraka, to teach his son, Ramaniraka, English, by order of the late Queen. This he presented to me, and I have it now. He told me the Malagasy army consisted of 22,000 men and officers.

On the 30th, I accompanied the General to breakfast with Rainikiotovo, 15th Honour. He was very rich, and, there being no bank, he kept his money (French five-france pieces) in a large chest, which I saw in his house. He was very charitable to the poor, and to any one requiring assistance. He said God had blessed him with plenty, and that He continued to bless him, for the more he gave the more he got. He talked of purchasing a vessel with the object of trading with Mauritius. Rainikiotovo was famous for having the most beautiful female slaves, and about half a dozen of them waited on us at breakfast. When anything was wanted, they all left the room in single file, and returned in the same manner, one bringing in the article required. Then each of them placed herself behind one of the party at breakfast, and fanned him with a large palm-leaf fan with a long handle, the end of which rested on the ground. They were smartly dressed,

with their woolly hair combed and spread out in a halo round and above their heads.

Rainitsimba, the Under Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was also the King's chief musician, was present, and promised to compose some music for me, and this he afterwards did, and I possess it now.

The pieces he composed were :—

1. "God Save the King."
2. "Fiderana and Rabodo." (Praising of Rabodo [the Queen].)
3. "Ny fangatahana tanteraka sy ny faniriana tonga." (The demand is accomplished.)
4. "Filazana ny soa nataond Radama." (Declaring the good that Radama has done.)
5. "Fifalrany ny nahantra efa afaka." (Happiness to the free.)
6. "Fahatsiarovana ny havana." (An address to my wife.)
7. "Fahazahoanaandro hibebehana." (Day of repentance.)
8. "Fitsorana." (Confession.)
9. "Fahafatesany nimino." (The death of the believer.)
10. "Hira fanaony ny ankizy ao Antananarivo fony izy Prince." (Hymn of the time of Radama, Prince at Antananarivo.)

11. "Fitampihavianana." (Wanted a friend.)

12. "Fiderana an Andriamanitra." (Praising of God.)

The words of the above are beautifully written in both Malagasy and English, and the music is well and clearly written also.

At 1 o'clock, I paid a visit to the Queen, whom I found, with some of the ladies of her Court, sitting on the floor, studying the fashions in a copy of the *Illustrated London News*. Some one came, and brought some small balloons, and the Queen took my arm and went outside to see them sent off. She had a cold, and put a handkerchief over her head, and wore a striped pink and white dress. Her little adopted daughter accompanied us.

On Sunday, the 30th, at 10 a.m., I called on the missionaries and found only Mrs Davidson at home, and talked with her for half an hour in her room upstairs. The houses occupied by them were the same as had been occupied by the former

missionaries, about 1818. I read the service at our headquarters, at 11 o'clock. At 3 o'clock we all went to the Stone House, where Mr Ellis held a service for the King and his people. Many of the ladies present were dressed in gentlemen's shirts. After service I went with Oliver to the King's country house. It had a centre and two wings, and was said to have been built on the plan of the Government House at Mauritius. It was built of strips of wood arranged herring-bone fashion, and the floors were tessellated with different coloured woods. It was in bad condition and undergoing repairs, but very roughly. We went from there to the top of the high conical hill named Ambohidzanahary. This hill, which rises out of the plain below the town, was very steep; and wide trenches were cut from its top, diverging as they reached down towards the bottom. The object of these trenches was to collect the rain water, and distribute it to the paddy grounds below. There was a special official appointed to superintend the irrigation of paddy fields.

On Monday, the 1st September, we started some games at Mahamasina. The King and his Court, and the members of the French mission, and a large crowd of natives, were present. We commenced with a palanquin race, in which twelve were entered. Oliver and I each entered one for the race. The race was round the Champ de Mars. Rainikiotovo had lent me four Hova slaves, said to be the most powerful in the capital. Their brown skins were smooth and shining, and their muscles stood out magnificently. They carried the palanquin which I entered for the race, with Oliver in it, and came in second. Little Rabafaniraka, Rahaniraka's youngest son, seven years of age, a light weight, in a light palanquin, won. My men were dressed in new white cummerbunds, and Union Jack pocket-handkerchiefs on their heads. This race was followed by a flat race without palanquins; which I won with one of the slaves, who was reckoned a first-rate runner. Then there was a race for little boys, under 4 feet 8 inches, who afterwards had a scramble for small bits of money, and who, in scrambling, formed themselves into huge pyramids of small humanity.

A race in pirogues then took place, on the lake Anosi: Oliver jumped out of his pirogue and dived, hat and all, and

swam ashore, to the astonishment of the natives. Andrianesa then went to the top of the conical hill, and started an empty palanquin race down it. They came down at a tremendous pace, some falling. My men again won. The King presented the prizes, which were handed to him by the judge. Thus we introduced English amusements into Madagascar. The King wondered why the French officers did not take part in them. They had looked very glum during the whole time, and more so when we gave the King three cheers when he was leaving. When the games were over, I was carried home by Rainikiotovo's four slaves, and had experience of their powers. They went off at a tremendous pace, and the action of their powerful muscles jumped me up and down in my palanquin. They were capital fellows. The natives enjoyed the games immensely, and entered into them with great spirit.

On the 2nd September, about 11 o'clock, I met the remaining party of the missionaries, on their arrival, and showed them the way to their quarters. At 4 o'clock, I went to the Stone School House, and found the King reading the Bible with Mr Ellis. The King was much interested and amused in reading about Samson pulling down the pillars, and in looking at the illustration of it. I left, and went to call on the King's second wife, named Mary, for which, on my return, he shook hands with and thanked me. Mary was not of Royal blood. She was a very good woman, with much common sense, in whose advice the King had much confidence; and he, consequently, consulted her in many things. She had joined the Christians. She had a son born the day we arrived at the capital, on which I congratulated her. Many of the officers of the Court were outside her house when I called. Mr Ellis left when I returned to the Stone House and rejoined the King, with whom I then had a long conversation, only Oliver, Ramaniraka and Razanakombana being present. I told the King that I had been asked whether, if he sent an ambassador to England, he would kiss the Queen on both cheeks. He looked a little confused at this, but, laughing, he owned that he had been taken quite by surprise by Lambert, at his reception of him. I said I had noticed that.

After a time Monsieur Laborde came, accompanied by Madame Juliette, a young creole of Bourbon, and a Monsieur

Soumagne. Laborde commenced talking very hotly, and in a domineering manner, to the King, in Malagasy. When he had left, the King told me that Laborde had talked to him about concessions that the French wanted him to grant, and told him that Lambert had, when in Europe, guaranteed that these concessions would be granted, and that if the King did not grant them, he would make a fool of Lambert. I understood that the concessions asked for were the exclusive rights to all the ports, except between Port Dauphin and Antongil Bay; in return for which the French were to keep order among the Sacalava tribe. This would have enabled them to obtain possession of the land occupied by this tribe.

The King having expressed a wish to dine with us, on the 3rd September we entertained him, the Commander-in-Chief (Rainilairavony), Rahaniraka, Raineketaka (the chief of the Menamaso), and Ramaniraka (private secretary to the King), at dinner. I gave them a very good dinner, with which they appeared much gratified. In the middle of dinner the King stood up to illustrate the Charge of the Guards at Waterloo, and said, "sauve qui peut." We sat and chatted until 11 o'clock. Then the King left, the General escorting him as far as the main street, when he took my arm, and we walked together, the band playing all the way. A band had played whilst the King was on his way to our mess-house, and been relieved by this other, which had played during our dinner. We went to a house at the back of the Silver Palace, where we found all the officers and ladies of the Court. The latter looked as though they had just turned out of bed, their jaws were tied up with handkerchiefs, and some were without shoes. We then danced until 12 o'clock, when I left with the Commander-in-Chief and Rahaniraka, and went home.

When the missionaries were introduced to the King by Mr Ellis, the British Consul took great offence, because they had not been presented by him, and because they had not called on him. He said to me that he would write home about it, and have them treated as certain persons had been treated in the Levant, but he neither told me who these persons were, nor how they were treated. The King expressed much annoyance with Mr Pakenham for the great amount of deference he had claimed, and also on account of his having addressed

him in French, instead of in English, on the occasion of the reception of Monsieur Lambert, and through Monsieur Laborde, the French Consul, as interpreter; and further because he had shown himself so anxious to support French interests. The King had been greatly importuned by the French, and had been looking forward to the arrival of the British Consul to support him. He had two French parties to contend against. One, the French Government, represented by Commodore Dupré, who was entrusted with the concluding of a treaty with Madagascar, and was endeavouring to obtain exclusive rights in the country, and to treat with the King as King of the Malagasies, and not as King of Madagascar. The King said the whole land of the country was his, and he was King of the whole country, as well as of its people. The object appeared to be to enable French subjects to obtain concessions of land from individuals, instead of from the Government of the country. The other party was represented by Messrs Laborde and Lambert, who wished to obtain very large exclusive concessions, with very extensive powers, from the King.

When I visited the King one day, I found Laborde, Lambert, and some other Frenchmen with him, and they at once commenced to tell me what bad and dangerous people the Sacalavas were; and it appeared they had offered to furnish the King with 300 French soldiers to keep order in the tribe. I laughed at their fears, and told the King he might make a first-rate and trustworthy zouave corps from among them. The King laughed heartily at this, and appeared greatly pleased, and got up and shook hands with me. The Frenchmen looked annoyed, and almost immediately retired. When they had left, the King again shook me by the hand and said, "I wish you would come and see me every day, for when you come these Frenchmen will not come to me. You English come here, and make yourselves kind and pleasant to, and teach, my people, and ask for nothing; but these Frenchmen do nothing but ask, ask, ask." I found out afterwards that the French treaty had been laid before the King, and these Frenchmen had been urging him to agree to it.

Before considering the treaty with his ministers, the King sent Rahaniraka to the General, myself, and Mr Ellis,

privately, with the request that we would each give him our private opinion upon it. Just before dinner, Mr Ellis came to us and said that Rahaniraka was on his way to us with the treaty. We commenced to have it read, but then proposed to defer the further reading of it until after dinner, and invited Rahaniraka and Ellis to dine. After dinner we discussed the treaty, article by article, Rahaniraka and Ellis translating it from the Malagasy, in which it was written. I made a rough copy of the English translation for the Governor of Mauritius. Another Malagasy official was present. We separated at 11.30.

On the 4th September I received an invitation from the King to come and hear his band play on the new instruments that I had delivered to him from the Queen. They first played the Malagasy National Anthem, and then several other tunes, very well and spiritedly.

On the 5th September, I called on Raineketaka, the chief Menamaso, and saw his nice wife and family.

On Sunday, the 7th, I officiated at the service at 11 o'clock as usual. At 3 p.m., with the General, Oliver, and the English party, I attended Mr Ellis's service at the Stone School House; and afterwards, with Oliver, visited the sites of the martyrs' sufferings.

On the 8th, I accompanied the King and Court to the Palace of Isoaerina, in the plain below the west end of the town. The members of the French mission were also present. On arrival there, we got up a horse race with the few horses that were in the country, which were very unmanageable. This was followed by a palanquin race. Then I said I should like to see a native game. This was played by two rows of men being arranged opposite one another, as for a country dance. On the word being given, the opposite parties commenced to kick at one another, by resting on one leg, and, wheeling backwards, throwing the other up, and trying to strike the head of the man opposite a tremendous crack with the heel. This many succeeded in doing. I had Rainikotavo's slaves again, and at first no one would join in the game against them. But after the game commenced, both sides warmed up to it, and got excited, and they went at it with so much vigour, that it became necessary for the armed soldiers of the

King's guard to put a stop to it. Then we tried the rifle, sent as one of the presents from Queen Victoria to the King, with which I made a very successful shot. The French party then left. We then joined in the King's procession up the hill, about 500 feet high, and very steep. Each gentleman had a lady on his arm. The King, who went last, escorted Princess Ramonge. I was next, in front of the King, with a hideous individual, wearing a dreadful wreath, with a black feather sticking up on one side. The hill being very steep, those behind were able to observe that the crinolines of the ladies in front were mostly put on wrong side to the front, and that their stockings were so badly fastened, that they hung in bags about their heels. All articles of European dress had only just been introduced in Madagascar, in preparation for the Coronation. They would not have been allowed during the late Queen's reign. The procession was led by a band; an armed escort of soldiers, in full dress, marched on each side; and 200 women, in a crowd, followed close in the rear, alternating with the band by clapping their hands and singing, accompanied by two Sacalava conchs, blown by men.

I visited Rahaniraka, who showed me the letters the King was sending to Queen Victoria, and to the Governor of Mauritius. This day the King decided to sign the treaty with France, provided certain alterations were made in it.

On the 10th, I visited the Silver Palace, where I examined the large reception-room on the ground floor, the floor of which was laid in handsome patterns in different coloured woods, highly polished. I then went to the corresponding room above, and into the verandah outside it. Then into the lower attic in the roof, in which were prints of battles, of religious subjects (including the Lord's Supper), and of ladies. From the attic over that I looked out of a dormer window, from which there was a very fine and extensive view. I also looked down from it, on the old Queen's house, the house of Radama Ist, the houses of the idol keepers, and a row of the tombs of the former kings. I was shown a room containing all the King's clothes, of which there appeared a considerable quantity, but I was not allowed to go into it, nor into another room which contained the King's stores. There were ninety-seven steps from the ground to the top room. On leaving the Palace I walked in the Palace Garden,

in which was a large tank, a glass summer-house, a small red summer-house, and a look-out place. The walls of the Palace below the first verandah were painted red, the walls above that were painted white. Silver bells were hung all round the upper verandah, and round the dormer above. It was this that gave the building the name of the Silver Palace. The Great Palace, which was very near this one, was painted white, with the exception of the balustrades round the verandahs, which were red. The roof was covered with wooden bardeaux (shingles), about two inches thick.

In the afternoon I sent presents to RaineKetaka and his daughters, and called on Commodore Dupré, who remarked to me, in reference to the General's letter to him about Tahiri, that the General was "rather fond of writing."

On the 11th I visited Rahaniraka, who told me that the Silver Palace was built on the site of a former Silver Palace, built by Radama I, which was removed to the south end of the row of tombs of the Kings; and the present Silver Palace and the Great Palace were both built by the late Queen. The larger one took about three years to build. The largest piece of timber is in the end, and 120 feet in height. The centre prop is also one piece, but not so large as the end one, and is cased, as are all the props more or less. It took between 1000 and 2000 men a month to bring up each of the large timbers from the forest. There were formerly a few small houses where the Great Palace was standing. Rahaniraka also said there was only one idol, of not much repute, at present in the idol house.

In the evening I dined with Mr Ellis, to meet the King. The rest of the party consisted of the Commander-in-Chief, RaineKetaka, Rahaniraka, Ramaniraka, the General, Dr and Mrs Davidson, and Oliver. The King told us anecdotes of his specific (a medical herb), and of his dreams when under opium, and of himself cutting an excrescence on a woman's leg. He also talked to us about his having saved the lives of the Christians in his mother's time. The Davidsons left at 8.30, and the General, who had looked bored all the evening, retired at 9 o'clock. The party broke up at 10.30. The King took my arm when leaving, and, with the band playing, and the usual guard, we went to the Queen's Palace, where I took leave of

him and walked home, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief.

On the 12th, the General and Oliver went to witness the signing of the French treaty, when a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. Commodore Dupré, Mr and Mrs Pakenham, and the missionaries (Mr and Mrs Toy and Dr and Mrs Davidson) dined with us. After dinner, the General proposed, "Success to the Treaty, with all my heart." Pakenham complained of the manner he had been treated by Rahaniraka; and Dupré abused the King and his Ministers.

I had visited Rahaniraka in the afternoon, and he showed me the French treaty; and I asked him to let me make a copy of it. He said, "Come to my house to-morrow at eleven o'clock, and I will place sentries round my house, and you shall then make a copy of it." I wanted to send a copy to the Governor of Mauritius.

On the 13th, after breakfast, I went to Rahaniraka's, and copied part of the treaty. At 12 o'clock I went to witness the administration of justice. About twenty Judges and Ministers of Justice, of whom Rameketaka was the head, were present. The first case was one of debt; the next, of murder; and the third, of three brothers disinherited in favour of an adopted son. The first case was remanded on account of the absence of a witness. The murderer, in the second case, was found guilty. He had murdered his mistress for her money. He was sentenced to have an iron ring round his neck, and iron fetters on his legs, and to serve the children of the murdered woman until he had expiated his crime. The punishment for rebellion, and cattle stealing, was also an iron ring and fetters as above.

After a short visit to the King, I went back to Rahaniraka's, and finished copying the treaty.

The King sent two of his aides-de-camp to me with a present of one of the shells used as a musical instrument by the Sacalava tribe, and this I now possess. I called, with Ellis, on the Prime Minister, who was still bad with gout, and found Dr Davidson attending him. The morning had been cold. It was the coldest month of the year, but in the sun it was very hot.

On the 16th, after breakfast, I went to Mahamasina (the so-called Champ de Mars), to see the troops taking up ground,

in rehearsal for the Coronation. There were about 5000 present.

On the 17th, I called on Captain Mazière and Lieut Prudhomme St Maur, of the French Mission, and invited them to dinner. I took my interpreter, and called on the Commander-in-Chief, and advised him on various subjects, for which he thanked me, and he promised to write to me at Mauritius. I then called on a cousin of the Commander-in-Chief, who had sent Rasafinkarifo to me the day before with a present of two bone forks, a horn spoon, and a bone marrow spoon, of local manufacture. He also gave me a pair of nail clippers, and a pair of pliers made by the only man in Madagascar who could make them. He further presented me with a gold ring with his hair in it; and also promised to write to me. I saw his wife, his only one then, as he said he was a Christian, and had adopted our English customs. The two French officers dined with the General and me, Oliver having gone to visit the iron mines. They both appeared to enjoy their dinner, and made themselves very agreeable, and we kept up a brisk conversation with them. I saw them home after dinner.

In the afternoon of the 19th I went to the Stone House, and found the King in the little room in the wooden house near it. Presently the King took my arm and led me to the entrance, where the Commander-in-Chief and a number of high officers, judges, and others were assembled. They velomed, and the Commander-in-Chief then addressed the King. The King replied, looking greatly pleased. After a little conversation, the deputation velomed again and retired. The King then led me back into the room, where he commenced dancing, shouting, singing, and tearing his hair; and the officials came in and velomed, and drank his health. He then told me that they had just consented to let him have the wish of his heart, and to allow the thirty-four prisoners in chains, belonging to the party of Prince Ranbasolama, to be set free, instead of being put to death as the officials had desired. The King was perfectly frantic with delight, and tremendously excited. He kept shaking hands, jumping up and stamping about, and ordered twenty-one guns to be fired. We drank his health, with three times three cheers. Then I

invited him to come and dine privately at our mess. He said, "Come along," and, seizing Oliver and myself each by the arm, started off at a furious pace; guards, women-singers, band, and all scrambling along in confusion before and behind us. Oliver went and fetched the General, and I had to make the dinner I had ordered for four do for twenty; and to send out and borrow plates, etc. Some had a plate between two; and Oliver, Razanakombana and one or two others had to set away from the table, there being no room at it for them. His Majesty, under the influence of his late excitement, and of champagne, of which he thoughtlessly too freely partook at dinner, became overcome. He drank the whole of the milk intended for our coffee, in mistake for his own coffee. He took away my tea and gave it to some one else, helped himself to coffee and sugar, and after doing so, wiped the spoon on his tongue, and then, with it, helped the General, who tried to prevent him. He upset his tea, and performed other eccentricities, and pronounced himself to be drunk. When dinner was over, I proposed we should retire, and I took one of the King's arms, and Oliver the other. He reeled about as we started. The guard broke down the papyrus leaf palings, and we crunched over them. The King sat down to arrange his shoes. I helped him up a bank and hurt my hand. There was a lantern carried in front of our procession; then came the band playing, the officers, guards, and Court ladies, rushing along.

On the 20th, I called on Ellis in the morning, and saw the photograph he had taken of the King, after he had breakfasted with him that morning. At 6.30 I dined at the mess of the French Mission. I sat between Colonel Lesline and Captain Mazière. Monsieur Lambert was talking at the table during dessert, and I noticed that every one was looking at me, but I pretended not to understand what he was saying, so said to Captain Mazière, "What is Monsieur Lambert saying; he speaks so fast I cannot understand him. I can understand you because you speak slowly." Then Commodore Dupré and others called to Monsieur Lambert to stop. I believe Lambert, who thought I was opposing the objects of his party with the King, wanted to pick a quarrel with me. The French were very jealous of the King's marked preference for the English.

On Sunday, the 21st, I read the morning service as usual;

Andrianisa and his son joining us. I went to the Stone House in the afternoon, where Ellis preached a combined farewell (for us) and coronation sermon. The King and two missionaries were among those present.

After dinner a messenger came from the King to invite us to go and witness the illuminations. We went to the end of the town, whence we overlooked the plain below, which for miles was lighted up by many thousands of people holding wisps of burning grass. It was a very grand sight, and had the effect of the heavens turned upside down, with all the stars below us. The town was similarly illuminated, and this was the cause of a fire in which three houses were burnt. When the fire took place, drums were beaten in the street, the guards were paraded at the Palace, the troops turned out, and slaves collected what water they could collect in bamboos and other vessels. The females of the burning houses were conveyed away, screaming, on the backs of their slaves, and followed by the rest of their households of female slaves. The houses were very inflammable, being constructed of wood with thatched roofs of rushes or grass.

On the 22nd, a controversy took place as to whether the representative of England or of France should take precedence at the Coronation. The King favoured the English, and had decided that General Johnstone should stand on his right hand on the occasion, because the English had done so much for the benefit of Madagascar; but Commodore Dupré declared that should this be done, he would leave Madagascar immediately and return to France, and obtain authority from the Emperor of the French to bombard Tamatave and burn Antananarivo. It was then left to Pakenham and Laborde to settle the question. The General was much exercised about it.

At 7.15 a.m. I accompanied the General and Oliver to the King's Levée, held the day before the Coronation. The King brought the Queen in to see us. Later I called on Rahaniraka, who asked me to translate two French letters, addressed to the King, complaining of the Governor of the island of Mohilla. It appeared from them, that the French desired to offer their services to punish the Governor of Mohilla, and then to undertake the protectorate of the island.

There was another illumination at night, but not in the town.

It was earlier and not so effective. Guns were fired all round the town, and slaves watered the main thoroughfare, down which the coronation procession would pass, with water from round earthen pots.

A few days before, flagstaffs had been erected at every 100 yards. The town was overflowing with people, who had arrived from all parts of the country, and one could hear an immense amount of chattering up to a late hour at night.

Razanakombana introduced me to his mother and sister this day, and I gave him and them some presents from a little stock of articles I had taken with me for presents to the natives. I had also taken a supply of fourpenny and threepenny pieces to distribute, in order to let the people see their greater convenience compared with the pieces of chopped-up five-franc pieces current in the country. The money in use consisted of the whole, the halves, the quarters, the eighths, sixteenths, thirty-secondths, and the sixty-fourths of the French five-franc pieces. The process of weighing these pieces of silver, in scales, against small cylindrical pieces of iron, with little dots punctured on their ends, to indicate their weights, had to be gone through at every transaction. After weighing, with the silver in one scale and the weight in the other, the silver was transferred to the weight's scale, and the weight to that of the silver, and the weighing took place over again. This made a purchase a matter of considerable time; but time was no object in Madagascar.

On the 23rd, a salute was fired at 5.30 a.m. At 7 a.m. I went to the Silver Palace, and found the King sitting on the floor in the south ante-room reading from a manuscript book, with a common flexible leather binding. He had his crown, lately arrived from Paris, in a case at his feet. He shook hands with me. The Queen was dressing in a pavilion close by. After waiting nearly three hours the King went to dress, and, when he returned, I went to meet him in the same ante-room, and found him dressed in the field-marshal's uniform sent him by Queen Victoria. Over this he then put on his robes, which consisted of a long silk train, the upper part woven with gold thread, and the lower embossed with crimson flowers. It was fastened round his neck. The French party had made a great

effort to induce the King to wear a set of magnificent robes brought from France for him, for his Coronation, but he persisted in being crowned in the English uniform. The Jesuits circulated a report that they had crowned him in private, with a Roman Catholic ceremony, in the early morning; but there is no doubt that this was not true. The Jesuits had spread very insulting statements regarding the Bishop of Mauritius, Mr Ellis, and the missionaries of the London Missionary Society.

We sat down, the King and Lambert opposite Dupré and myself. Opposite Dupré, and next the King, was Pakenham; and next to me Devatre, Dupré's A.D.C. We sat a long time, little being said by any one, then the King passed out through the large room to the room where the Queen was, and again there was a long delay. The men of the King's bodyguard were dressed in long, light green, frock-coats, with gilt buttons; and pink shakos with plumes, and covered with gold lace. They had light blue-grey trousers, with red stripes, similar to the old Royal Artillery pattern. Each carried a halberd about seven feet long, with a silver handle, and with a silver head with R. II on it. All the aristocracy, male and female, had taken up positions in the verandahs of the Silver Palace, the gentlemen dressed in gorgeous uniforms of embroidered velvet, etc., and the ladies in wonderful costumes obtained from Paris, through the agency of the French Consul. The two hundred singing women, dressed in white, were in the courtyard of the palace, and sang the praises of the ancestors of Radama, accompanying themselves with the usual clapping of hands; while the King's band of twenty-five instruments, the present from Queen Victoria, and named, after her, the Victoria Band, was also playing. About 11 o'clock the King and Queen entered the large room with their respective suites. The Queen was dressed in the gold-embroidered crimson velvet robe sent to her by Queen Victoria. She entered a beautiful gilt palanquin, in the shape of a shell, lined with crimson and gold satin, and had her little adopted daughter, beautifully dressed, seated in the curled-up end of the shell, facing her, at her feet. Her palanquin was carried by eight bearers, dressed like the bodyguard, but with caps on instead of shakos. The King mounted an Egyptian horse, brought by

Lambert, with a magnificent saddlecloth and bridle, also brought by Lambert from Paris. Lambert mounted the horse that had been taken to the King from the Mauritius Government, by Colonel Middleton, the previous year. This horse was also elaborately caparisoned.

The Commander-in-Chief turned out in a velvet tunic embroidered in gold. Rainikiotavo sported a heavy brass helmet, decorated with a variety of imitation precious stones, large and small; but, finding this inconvenient, he replaced it by a cocked hat, and had the helmet carried behind him by an attendant.

Commodore Dupré, instead of being dressed in his naval uniform, appeared in a plain suit of black, with the decoration of the Legion of Honour, to represent the plenipotentiary of the Emperor of the French.

The Queen led the procession, followed by the King; then came the singing women; and then about three hundred soldiers round the King. There was no control of the procession, and a rush and mêlée of palanquins took place to get through the archway at the gate. Soldiers, in red coatees and white trousers and shakos, lined both sides of the way the whole distance through the town. On each side of the way, there were red and white flags with R. II upon them, flying from masts. There was another block and scuffle with palanquins at a narrow part of the road where it sloped down towards the Andahalo, an open space where the King held kabaris or public meetings. When we arrived there he dismounted to stand upon a stone, concerning which there was some tradition. In the procession the General, Dupré, myself, and some of the principal officers followed behind the King in palanquins. Salutes were being fired as the procession proceeded. On arrival at Mahamasina, or, as we called it, the Champ de Mars, a mile and three-quarters from the Palace, the King ascended the steps of the low column on which was the sacred stone, over which a pavilion had been erected. He placed himself on the top of the stone. I stood immediately behind the King, almost touching him. Representatives of all the tribes were present, to the number of about 100,000 and the hills around were crowded with people in white lambas. The tribes were all grouped separately, and divided from one another by ropes. The English, and the

French Jesuit, missionaries, and the idol keepers with their idols (poles with some cloth round their tops, covering something, and with silver chains round them), were grouped together just below the King's column. Soon after our arrival, the King took hold of his crown, and placed it on his head, and then crowned the Queen; while a salute was being fired. He then drew his sword, and addressed the people in an animated speech, which was loudly applauded with a peculiar noise sounding like oo-oo-e, oo-oo-e, oo-oo-e, which, from so many thousand voices, produced a very peculiar effect. It was not a harsh but a soft, buzzing sound. In his speech the King said he had become King by the will of God, and that his object would be to benefit his people, and govern them with kindness and justice; that they had known him while Prince Rakoto, during his mother's reign, endeavouring to obtain mercy for people when condemned to punishment or death. That he would endeavour to advance the material interests of the country; and they would find him pursuing the same line of conduct as King Radama I.

Noticing the banners carried by the Jesuit French missionaries, who were standing close to the idol keepers, the King turned to me and, pointing to them, said, "Roman Catholic idols." There were two raised stands, each about 150 feet long, one on each side of the King's column. That on the left was occupied by the ladies.

The holy stone was a rough granite stone, about 5 feet thick and 7 feet high, standing alone on the plain, with a wall, about 4 feet thick, built round it.

Many of the ladies of the Royal Family were dressed in scarlet, with scarlet boots, and scarlet parasols; it being the privilege of royalties to wear scarlet. After the King's speech, the chiefs of tribes and the nobles came forward, and made their submission, and presented the hasina, a sort of tribute, to the King. This consisted of a five-franc-piece, which was collected by his private secretary, Ramaniraka. About 12.30 the procession was re-formed, and proceeded up the hill. On reaching the Andahalo, the King's horse reared, and he nearly met with an accident.

At 3.30 a banquet was held in the large room in the Great Palace, at which one hundred and ten sat down. There was

a long table down the room, with a T table at one end, at which the King and Queen sat. I sat in the angle where the T table joined the main table, and facing the Queen, who sat on the left of the King. I had as my immediate neighbours several old princesses, from eighty to ninety years of age. During the repast, I drank wine with the Queen, a custom in those days, and she invited me to eat a fried water beetle. It was like a dried cockchafer. I put it between my teeth, and it gave a little pop as I bit it, but I could not eat it, and took it out of my mouth again, at which the Queen laughed. Among the viands were dishes of locusts. The food was good and well served. The six silver-gilt cups and large silver-gilt flagon presented by Queen Victoria, and two handsome gold vases, ornamented the table in front of the King; and on the side-board were two silver vases, 4 feet 4 inches high, made by a native silversmith.

Commodore Dupré sat on the side of the King, and the General on the side of the Queen. The King's health was proposed by Commodore Dupré, to which the King responded by proposing the healths of Queen Victoria and the Emperor of the French. The General then proposed the health of the Queen. The King, in a short and jocular speech, proposed the healths of his Minister for Foreign Affairs, in conjunction with the British and French Consuls. The banquet was over about six o'clock. Shortly after, dancing commenced, and the King opened the ball with a lady of the Court, and Commodore Dupré danced with the Queen. The ball was kept up with great spirit, both the English and French joining very heartily in it, and concluded about half-past nine.

The next day I received the following letter from the Foreign Secretary.

"Antananarivo,
24th Sept 1862.

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you, that His Majesty Radama II King of Madagascar has been graciously pleased to confer upon you the 2nd Class of the Order of Radama.

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your most O^{bt} servant,

RAHANIRAKA

Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."

In a dispatch from the Duke of Newcastle, of the 1st Jan., 1863, in reply to a dispatch from the Governor of Mauritius, there was the following :

“ You will learn by the enclosed copy of a correspondence with the Foreign Office that the Queen cannot be advised to allow these Orders [these included a first class presented to General Johnstone and a third class to Captain Oliver] to be worn, but that under the peculiar circumstances of the case, they may be accepted on the distinct understanding that they are not to be worn.”

The following evening we were all invited to the palace, to witness some fireworks, let off at the lake below. They were very good, but let off a little too early, before it was quite dark. We witnessed them from the balcony of the palace, to which we proceeded, each gentleman escorting a lady, General Johnstone giving his arm to the Queen. After the fireworks, we danced again, as on the previous evening.

The views from the balconies round the palace were very extensive, over fifty miles in some directions.

On the 25th I was up early and packed up. All my neighbours and friends came in their best clothes to help me, and to see me off. I distributed some little presents among them. An A.D.C. of the Prime Minister brought a specimen of silk, and some native horn spoons. Mary sent me a cotton lamba. A Menamaso presented me with a dollar, as he said, “to buy provisions on the way.” This was a great gift, money being so very scarce. It was a custom of the country. I told him I would buy something with it, at Mauritius, to remember him by. The Queen sent three little baskets for my wife and children. These little baskets, called *tantes*, about two inches cube, were made by her slaves, of plaited grass, so fine that they looked and shone like silk. An old lady lent me two slaves to help me on my way to Tamatave. I presented her with our big wine chest. Razanakombana, with his mother and sister, sent me some more little baskets.

The King sent, by me, the following letter to the Governor of Mauritius.

“Antananarivo,
23rd September, 1862.

To His Excellency William Stevenson, C.B., Governor of Mauritius.

SIR,

I have received the letter that you wrote to me, dated 8th July, 1862. Major General Johnstone delivered into my hands the letter from Her Majesty Victoria Queen of England, signed with her Sign Manual. Inspector General Anson also delivered to me the presents that Her Majesty Victoria sent to me. I thank Her Majesty Victoria for the handsome presents that she has given me, as a token of remembrance from Her Majesty. I send to Her Majesty Victoria, 1 silver vase, 2 silver goblets. They were made at Antananarivo. I send them as a token of remembrance to Her Majesty, my friend. I send them by Inspector General Anson to you, to be forwarded to Her Majesty. On them is inscribed the words ‘Presented to Her Majesty Victoria Queen of England by His Majesty Radama II King of Madagascar.’ It has afforded me much satisfaction to have been favoured with the presence of Major General Johnstone, Inspector General Anson, and the officers of their suite, at my coronation. Wishing you long life and health, your friend,

RADAMA II. KING OF MADAGASCAR.

P.S.—I send you also some cloth made in our country to be forwarded to Her Majesty Victoria. 9 silk cloths, 2 cotton cloths.”

Before leaving the capital I called on Ellis and Rahaniraka ; and then at 11.45, started with Oliver for Ambatomanga, on our return to Tamatave and Mauritius. We did not pass by Betafo. All the way was over bleak downs with paddy fields in the valley between them. We reached Ambatomanga at 5 o'clock.

On the 26th we left Ambatomanga at 7.15 a.m., the way still over bleak downs, but, after some time, assuming the character of mountains up to 1000 feet high, with peaks. We arrived at Ankaramadinika at 11.15. Here the forest begins, and the forest views were very fine. At the foot of the mountain runs the fine river Mangoro. In the middle of this river, a short distance from where we had to cross it, there was a small spit of sand, on which, with my telescope, I

descried a large alligator basking. From behind an overhanging tree, about 40 yards off, I got a shot at it with a ball from my smooth-bore gun, and turned it right over; but it managed to flounder and wriggle into the water, and was not seen again. Monsieur Lambert, when returning from France, was bringing a present of a horse to the King. When crossing a shallow river, the horse was seized in the flank by an alligator; a kick from the horse frightened it away, but only to seize a slave whom it dragged down. The marks of the alligator's teeth were visible in the horse's flank after its arrival at the capital.

4th October we went in our palanquins about a mile and a half, and then embarked in pirogues, in which we travelled down the pretty river Manambaro Hiaroko for two hours, and arrived at Andovoranto at 9 a.m. There we had a visit from the Princess Fische again. We went on and halted at Vavony, where we crossed a lake at a place called the "Hole of Serpents." This lake lies parallel to the sea, at no great distance from it, and, during the floods in the rainy season, overflows into it near Andovoranto. At Vavony the lake is wide, but terminates about two miles beyond it. There were some very pretty islets in it. We then came on flats, which in the wet season are swamps. The ground above them was very pretty and parklike, with close-cropped grass. We halted at Pantomesy, about six miles from Vavony, where another lake commences. Here we met an old Arab who had been a servant to Sandwith (of Kars), at Mauritius. This man had become a rice trader; I gave him some biscuits, of which he was in want, and he gave me a goose in return.

On the 7th, at about 9 a.m., I passed Hivondro, where I received a present from the Governor of Tamatave, who gave me a guard of honour and a band to escort me to the house where I was to breakfast, where I met Dr Meller, Mr Newton, of the Colonial Secretary's office at Mauritius (afterwards Sir Edward Newton, Lieut-Governor of Jamaica), and Lieut Maule, R.A., all of whom had been given a trip over from Mauritius in the *Gorgon*. The General arrived at 12 o'clock. At 3 p.m. we went to the landing-place, to enter the ship's boat, to embark on board the *Gorgon*. Just as I was about to get into the boat, I heard a wailing sound, and, looking round,

I saw the two slaves whom the lady at the capital had lent me, to see me safe to Tamatave, and who had behaved most faithfully and usefully to me all the way, giving way to expressions of great grief at parting from me. In the hurry of the moment, having had all the arrangements for getting off our baggage, paying our marmites, etc., I had overlooked them. However, I took a kindly leave of them, and gave them some presents; and sent by them to their mistress the case of plated metal forks and spoons, etc., that we had had in use during our expedition. Lieut Presburg, commanding on board the *l'Hermione* in the absence of Commodore Dupré, dined on board the *Gorgon*.

We sailed for Mauritius at 7 o'clock the next morning. Lieut Keppel was not on board, having married during the stay of the *Gorgon* at Mauritius, and was on his honeymoon.

On arrival at Mauritius, I presented the remainder of our stores of wine, etc., to the messes of the *Gorgon*, giving the champagne to Captain Wilson, with which, when the *Gorgon* was leaving Mauritius, some days later, he entertained his many friends who had gone on board to take leave of him. He was the son of a former Chief Judge of the island, and his sister was married to the Auditor-General. He had to drink so many healths that, some one said, when watching the vessel steaming out, "I should not like to be one of his officers on board just now."

CHAPTER XI

FURTHER EVENTS IN MADAGASCAR

(1863-1865)

AFTER my return to Mauritius from Madagascar, I corresponded, in a friendly way, with the Queen, the Prime Minister, the Commander-in-Chief, and others of my native friends, as well as with Mr Ellis and the missionaries of the London and the Church Missionary Societies, and those of the Propagation of the Gospel Society.

On the 20th Oct., 1863, I had transmitted to me, through the Government of Mauritius, a complaint made against me by Commodore Dupré to Mr Pakenham, the British Consul at Madagascar, which had been forwarded by the latter to the Foreign Office, and from there sent to the Governor of Mauritius through the Colonial Office.

In the Consul's letter to the Secretary of State, at the Foreign Office, he stated that, in course of conversation,—

“Commodore Dupré complained very bitterly of the attitude of the Mauritius Government towards France, in regard to the late changes in Madagascar. He stated that he was fully aware of all that was going on. That Captain Anson, Inspector-General of Police at Mauritius, had been, since the King's death, in constant communication, through Mr Ellis, with the new Hova Government, advising them to refuse to recognize the French treaty. That, notwithstanding his earnest desire to remain on friendly terms with Madagascar, he felt that the line of conduct adopted by Captain Anson, with the knowledge and consent of the Mauritius Government, must necessarily lead to a rupture, the whole responsibility of which must rest with Captain Anson.” The Consul added,

“I informed the Commodore that I had no means of preventing Captain Anson from corresponding with the Hova Government, but that I would report the matter for your

Lordship's consideration; and as, from circumstances which have come under my observation, I have reason to believe that Commodore Dupré has been rightly informed in regard to Captain Anson's interference in the affairs of this country, I would most respectfully solicit that instructions be given on the subject to the Mauritius Government, as a continuance of this state of things must inevitably lead to rivalry and ill-will between British and French subjects here."

Now, Mr Pakenham must have known that there was no truth in the statement that I had, with the knowledge and consent of the Mauritius Government, been communicating officially through Mr Ellis with the Hova Government. The *circumstances* that he stated had come under his observation was a packet of the *Illustrated London News*, containing the pictures of the Prince of Wales's wedding, which I sent to the Queen of Madagascar, and of which he had seen the outside only, and from which he had chosen to draw his conclusions.

The Consul's letter having been forwarded by the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, that Office replied :

"I have laid before the Duke of Newcastle your letter of the 10th instant, with enclosures from Her Majesty's Consul at Madagascar. . . . In answer I am to observe that, as Lord Russell is aware, the Duke of Newcastle would strongly disapprove any communication on public questions being made to the authorities at Madagascar by either the Governor, or any officer of the Government of Mauritius, otherwise than through the British Consul. Communications might naturally be made by Captain Anson, or any other member of the late Mission, on the affairs of Madagascar to Mr Ellis, the missionary at Antananarivo, who occupies no official position in connection with the Government of Madagascar, but with whom the members of the late Mission were no doubt in friendly intercourse during their sojourn in the Island, and with whom they may have been very probably in friendly correspondence since their departure. His Grace is not aware whether the Consul had or had not any sufficient grounds for adopting, and apparently sanctioning in correspondence with Commodore Dupré, the allegation of the Commodore that Captain Anson was 'corresponding with the Hova Government,' and was doing so with the knowledge and consent of the Mauritius Government; but no such grounds are stated.

His Grace will, however, request the Governor to report

upon this allegation, and at the same time request Captain Anson to abstain from correspondence with any person in Madagascar on the affairs of the Island."

This correspondence was transmitted to the Governor of Mauritius, and a copy of it communicated to me.

Mr. Pakenham had previously complained to the Foreign Office of my demeanour towards him, while I was at the capital. To this complaint my reply had been considered satisfactory.

When the country of Madagascar had been opened up, Mr Pakenham, through family interest in England, obtained the appointment of Consul there, in opposition to the advice of the Governor of Mauritius, who, in a letter to me, said he had done all in his power to prevent the appointment being made. In a letter from the Rev. Mr Ellis, dated Antananarivo, Feb. 26th, 1863, he says:—

"I hear that our Consul and the French Consul are estranged from each other, and have little if any intercourse. . . . I am not over anxious to clear myself in reference to any part of my proceedings which the great importance he [the British Consul] attaches to his position here may have caused him to feel it his duty to make, for the parties to whom his report would be sent or forwarded are as well acquainted with me as with him, and perhaps would attach only due weight to unfounded assertions. For your information I, however, state that the King made several erasures and inserted several additions in the draft of the treaty sent to His Majesty by the Consul before being copied out for signature. That I went by special invitation to the signing of the supposed corrected treaty at the Stone House, where the chief officers of the Government and all the foreigners resident in the Capital were also present. That the King called me to his side, while he glanced over the English copy of the treaty as the Consul read it, and over the Malagasy copy while Ramaniraka his Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs read that, and that as soon as it was done the Consul produced the pen and asked the King to sign. I was in the meantime comparing the two copies. The King asked me if the copies were correct. I replied 'there are most important deviations or rather omissions in the Malagasy text as compared with the English, and the English does not contain Your Majesty's amendments.' The King immediately drew back his chair from the table, Rainilarivony and

Rainiketake drew near the King. The Consul addressed me with some warmth thus. 'Do you come here, Mr Ellis, to oppose the treaty with the English or do you not?' I replied, 'I have come here at the special request of the King, and I have done what he asked me to do, viz. to point out any discrepancies between the English text now presented for signature and the corrected draft of the treaty returned to you by His Majesty, and also any want of agreement between the English and Malagasy texts of the treaty.' The Consul remarked that all former treaties had been in the English language, and he had no instructions to agree to a treaty in any other. I observed that the treaties to which he adverted were made in the reign of Radama Ist, but that he was now, after an intervening reign of more than 38 years since Radama's death, negotiating a treaty with Radama II, who had recently concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce with our allies the French, in which both texts were declared to be, if they agreed with each other, of equal value and authority. His Majesty had expressed his wish that the validity of the two texts should be equally provided for in the present treaty. In the meantime the Consul had replaced his copies of the treaty and tied up his portfolio which he held under his arm as if about to depart. The King and officers had, however, been looking over the copies, and had marked the deviations in the Malagasy version from that of the English which the King wished me to specify to the Consul. He replied that he did not understand the Malagasy language, considered the Malagasy version as only for the King's convenience, and had been informed by parties whom he considered competent to judge, that it was correct, and mentioned the name of one of the missionaries who had assisted him to make fair copies of the Malagasy version. The Missionary named, being present, rose and said that what he had copied was correct so far as the structure of the language was concerned, but that he had told the Consul that there were passages in the English which were entirely omitted in the Malagasy. Soon after this, the Consul laid down and untied his portfolio, took out the treaty, and laying it on the table before me said: 'Will you, Mr Ellis, take this treaty and alter it so as to meet the King's wishes.' I said 'If His Majesty wishes it I will, if you will then adopt it provided it contain nothing to which you feel obliged to object.' The King said, 'I wish it,' and the Consul having said he did not expect to find anything to object to, I took the treaty and we retired. The French Consul, who was present with most if not all of his countrymen, said to the King that I was perfectly right in calling his attention to the differences

between the English and Malagasy texts, and that the course agreed to was the best course. . . . I may mention, what I should have communicated to Sir William Stevenson had his valuable life been spared, that on the occasion of my undertaking to fill in the omissions in the English treaty, the King ordered Ramaniraka to place both French and Malagasy versions of the French treaty in my hands, and that I found, on comparing the concluding additional article in that treaty, that the paragraph stating that the King would not impose any duties, or words to that effect, during the present reign, was entirely wanting in the Malagasy text which His Majesty had signed. I directed Ramaniraka to point the discrepancy out to the King, who, he told me afterwards, had said he would bring it under the notice of the French Consul."

Commodore Dupré, in his book *Trois mois en Madagascar*, being an account of his mission at the time I was there, just after naming Mr Pakenham, thus alludes to the Revd William Ellis :

"Notre adversaire commun était un homme dont il est impossible de ne pas prononcer le nom, quelque répugnance qu'on éprouve à le faire, lorsqu'on a à parler de Madagascar et de Tananarive. C'est l'agent des missions méthodistes, Mr Ellis."

This work of the Commodore's was, I believe, suppressed in France. I obtained a copy of it, but having lent it to some one, it was never returned and so I lost it. I have, however, some portions of it which were published as a feuilleton in the *Commercial Gazette* of Mauritius.

Not only were the French jealous of our success with the people of the country, but the two Jesuit priests were extremely jealous of the success of the members of the London Missionary Society in obtaining converts, and pupils for their schools. One of the priests told one of my native friends that Queen Victoria was going to become a Catholic.

In June, 1863, a revolution took place in Madagascar, when the King was put to death, and I received the following account of it from my friend Rainilaiarivony, the Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister. (It was Rainilaiarivony who commanded the Malagasy army against the French, and he was taken by them, with the Queen, to France, when they took Madagascar.)

"Antananarivo, 22 June 1863.

I write to inform you as a friend. that His Majesty Radama II has giving too much power to the *Menamaso* who was too proud to every body by the power which His Majesty has giving to them. and judging the people in an unjust maner that if any man do wrong if he give the Menamaso some money he will be free, and they raised the people from the low rank to be General or Colonel, if he give them money.

They also attempted all the Malagasy soldiers to be disband, and to kill all the chief officers, but they did not succeed in disbanding the soldiers and the officers were safe by this.

They also flatred the King that the men women will do such a shameful thing wich I cannot tell you. and the people grumbled. by this.

They also make a law which I think will desolate Madagascar, that every body who wants to kill its other by misskets or sword is allowed by the laws to do so even 10,000 men are wants to fight. and they encouraged the Idol Keeper to murder all the Christians in Madagascar to the number of many thousands. But the Almighty God who is the Master of all things did not wish to desolate our beautiful Island.

On the morning of the 8th of May last all the Chief of the different district of *Imerina*, the Judges and all the Great officers of State went to the house of His Excellency the Prime Minister to ask him to go with them as they are going to ask His Majesty to take off these bad laws. to such a request the Prime Minister did not deny and went with them. they went up together, and waited the King at the Courtyard for many hours as His Majesty was drunk the night last and did not get up from his bed till at ten o'clock in the morning, and as soon as the King has dressed himself and go out from his bedroom. they asked him that they wants to speak to him, and as soon as he consented the Prime Minister speak and said that the people on hearing of your new law, was afraid to such a law and come here to ask your Majesty to take it off. as it will produce Civil war. at first he nearly consented and the people was bursted with joy. but in 4 or 5 minits, his bad thoughts come to him, and he said I will not take off my law as that will do good for my Country. again the people asked him to take it off as no one will be safe by such a law. to which His Majesty did not agree after stooping about an hour at the Royal Chamber they all retired. and grief was upon all the countenance of the brave. again they returned after staped a few stapes [steps] and asked His Majesty that they are to arm themself against their enemies the *Menamaso*, Go and arm yourself was the reply.



RAINILAIARIVONY, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND PRIME MINISTER
IN MADAGASCAR.

The people then went to the Prime Minister's house, and told him that they will kill all the Menamaso, for these men has made our King to make such a terrible law, to which the Prime Minister thinks that it will not be safe for his own life to deny that. and he immedietly consented.

At 6 on the morning of the secondth day all Antananarivo rose as one man in arms. who were all ready to kill the Menamaso. in an hour about 10 of them was killed by the people on the road or in their houses, and the rest to the number of about 33 has fled away or joined the King at the Stone house who hastened from the Palace to save them.

In a few moments the Royal flag was seen in the midst of the people carried by 4 men. who said that His Majesty asked that the rest of the Menamaso shall not be killed. The countless multitude shouted that they will fight to the last man to cut these davel menamaso in pieces. who has made ill judged of us and has got too much reaches [riches] from us and has sold our wives and children to slaves by bad judgment. and asked the King to give to them the Menamaso as we dont wish to shoot our King they say. the falag and the King's messenger returned several times but the people did not consent.

The King then returned to the palace where he was joined by his Queen and the other of the Roy family and ordered the guards to load their arms and the artillery of the Royal Guards to load their guns. the soldiers immediately followed the order of their Sovereign by loding the muskets with the powder but not a single of them put a bullet in. The Artillery men then assured His Majesty that they have no powder: and the King again called all the slaves to go up to the verehando of the big Palace. and about three hundred of them got up there.

These arrangements made by the King, was soon known by the officers and the people, and makes them very angry, and they say. that we are not to fight against our King, but we are to fight to the Menamaso, and why the King makes his guards to fight against us.

On the morning of Sabath 10 of May 1863 they send many hundreðth of the people without arms to the palace to ask the King that they will not kill the Menamaso but to put them in chains to this request the King did not consent, and at noon of the same day, the people in a countless number with a fearful rage come up from the Prime Minister's yard and blocaded the palace. His Majesty on seeing the people coming up told the Menamaso that he will deliver them to the people to be put in chains, and in a few months he will disband all the soldiers and untie them. And then to kill all the

chief officers and some of the chief civilians, and the Menamaso consented.

In an hour a messenger from the King arrived and said that he will deliver the Menamaso to the people, and the people was glad to put them in irons. in the evening it was heard that the King intended to kill all the chief officers, &c., in a few months. On the second day the Menamaso was delivered to the people to be put in chains.

The people now began to think to kill His Majesty Radama II. as they were afraid that he will kill them and to put Rabodo on the throne, as she is the heir of the throne by the will of the late Queen Ranavalona.

The King Radama II. was killed by the people at seven o'clock in the morning of Tuesday 12 May 1863 and the Menamaso in the afternoon and the people after made a very good laws, that the Queen of Madagascar is no more to be despotic, and the Christian is to be free from all annoyance, and the abolition of the *tangena** for ever, to which the Queen consented,

thus indeed the Reign of Radama II. King of Madagascar I hope now that Madagascar will grow up to a Nation. remember me to all my friends in Port Louis especially the General.

Your sincere friend,
RAINILATARIVONY, Commander-in-Chief &c. &c. &c."

Dr Meller, during his stay in the island, collected about seventy skins of mammals and birds, many of which were shot by me. These skins were sent to Mr Sclater, Secretary to the Zoological Society, and an account of them was published in the *Proceedings* of the Society, on 12th May, 1863. He also sent botanical specimens to the Herbarium at Kew, many of which I gathered. In the notes of Mr Edward Newton, M.A., C.M.Z.S. (afterwards Sir Edward Newton), on his second visit to Madagascar (his first visit was when he accompanied Colonel Middleton's Mission to Antananarivo in 1861), he writes :

"I am able to add to my list a few other species and additional information through the kindness of Captain Anson, R.A., who was one of the Coronation Mission to the Capital

* The tangena was the poison used in trial by ordeal. The ordeal consisted of a person having to swallow three pieces of chicken skin, and then to take some of the poison. If he brought up the three pieces of chicken skin he was considered not guilty. If he did not bring it up, he most probably died, and was considered to have been guilty.

. . . Captain Anson, when close to Tamatave, on his return from Antananarivo, wounded a brown owl, which he brought alive on board the *Gorgon*, but it died the first night, and the Malagasy servants, from their stupid superstition, threw it overboard. It appeared to me to be identical with the specimen obtained by Dr Meller, which was sent to England some months after his return from the Capital. At Ampassimaventy I heard, at night, the cry of a bird which I was told was a species of Vorondold, but brown with a head like that of an ox. Captain Anson's bird had no appearance of tufts; it was however old enough to have shown them distinctly."

I received a brief account, dated the 22nd Sept., 1863, of the Coronation of the Queen, Rabodo, from a native friend, a 14th Honour. He told me that when standing on the holy stone at the Palace, the Queen offered up this prayer, "O God and my ancestors bless me that I may hold my Kingdom," and then went to the tomb of Radama I and offered the same prayer. She then went to the Andohoalo, accompanied by her bodyguard of officers of from the 13th to the 16th Honour. The Prime Minister wore the uniform Queen Victoria had sent by me to Radama II. My friend also said in his letter that the Queen still appeared to feel the death of the King, but was afraid to show that she did so, for fear her officers should think she bore malice against them. Of our Consul, he said that he did nothing, but went away so fast that he left his sword behind.

My friend also informed me that—

"there is great disobedience of the treaty which poor Radama II did with the France Government, few days before the coronation, Mr Laborde Consul de France told the Queen, that he will go down to Tamatave to intreat Mr Dupré to go up to Antananarivo to have fresh treaty, so that the Queen sent Raharolahy 15th honor and the late Governor of Foulpoint to go down with him, a letter from them inform us that Captain Dupré say that if the Malagasy government did not consent the first treaty he must attack Tamatave, and that the chief officers and the P^m [Prime Minister] say that they had rather die than consent to it."

I also received the following letter from Mr Lemaire, the Consul for Madagascar at Mauritius:—

"In a letter from a priest at Antananarivo it is stated that on the 12th May six persons, one of whom was Razonavo called on King Radama II at the Stone House to sign a constitution that they had prepared, informing him that unless he should do so, he would be killed. He refused, and going to the front of the house, read the constitution and asked the people whether they wished him to sign it. They all replied in the affirmative, but he still refused. The conspirators then requested that he and the Menamaso who were with him should, with the exception of seven, retire. The seven Menamaso were then strangled, seven more of the Menamaso were then strangled. The King and the remainder of the Menamaso who had retired into the Stone House were then followed there by Razonavo and eleven others, and informed the King that they had come to kill him. The Queen threw herself around him but he was lassoed, led into another room, and strangled with the rest of the Menamaso. Altogether about 26 or 27 persons were killed. The Queen was immediately proclaimed, and took an oath she would never take a drop of spirits.

The Constitution revoked all the acts of Radama with the exception of the English and French treaties. Radama's name was to be no longer mentioned and no one was to enquire where he was buried. The Queen the next day received all the Europeans and assured them that things would go on as heretofore. That the lives and property of strangers would be protected, and that there was to be perfect freedom of religion, but that all strangers that meddled with politics would be at once killed. There has been no disturbance."

In considering all the information I received regarding the conduct of the King after I left Madagascar, I can only come to the conclusion that, much worried by pressure from the French residents for concessions and privileges, the bad advice of his companions, and intemperance, his mind gave way, and he was no longer responsible for the shocking acts of which he was guilty. This was much to be lamented, as he was naturally of a good and amiable disposition.

The following is an extract from a Despatch of Sir William Stevenson, Governor of Mauritius, to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"In continuation of my Despatch of 7th July, in which I reported the arrangements I had made for the transmission

and delivery of the Queen's letter and presents to the King of Madagascar, and for aiding in doing honor to his Coronation, by authorizing the officers who were to be the bearers of the letter and presents to remain and assist at the ceremony. . . . The Officers and others who finally formed or accompanied the Mission consisted of Major-General Johnstone, commanding the troops in the Colony; the Lord Bishop of Mauritius (charged with the special duty of presenting the Bible to the King); Inspector-General Anson, Captain Royal Artillery; Lieutenant Oliver, R.A. (acting as Aide-de-Camp to the General); and Dr Meller, a medical gentleman and naturalist, attached to Doctor Livingstone's African party, and then on board H.M.S. *Gorgon*, on his return to Africa, who, at his own request, was authorized to accompany the party to the Capital. . . . The result was, under all circumstances, as satisfactory as could have been desired, and I am happy to be able to report that the head of the party, and all others who were attached to the Mission or afforded their assistance, performed the various duties with which they were entrusted entirely to my satisfaction. . . . I also add a short report from Inspector-General Anson (Captain, Royal Artillery), to whom the specific charge of the presents was confided, showing that he faithfully discharged that part of his duty. . . . I hope I may ask your Grace to authorize me to express to General Johnstone, Captain Anson, and the other members of the Mission, as well as those who afforded their assistance, your satisfaction at the results, and the manner in which they respectively performed their duty."

To this the Duke of Newcastle replied: "You will have the goodness to express to Major-General Johnstone, Captain Anson, and the other members of the Mission, my acknowledgments for the services they have rendered."

From a letter, dated September, 1863, from my friend the Prime Minister, the following is an extract:

"You are indeed proving yourself a real and true friend, and you may rest assured that I shall not readily forget the kindness which you have thus shown towards myself personally, and for the benefit of the whole Malagasy nation. . . . But, although unable to write you a long letter just now, I cannot resist the opportunity of telling you how much and how deeply I feel obliged to you. . . .

I remain, yours most sincerely,

RAINIVONINAHITRINIONY, Prime Minister."

Razanakombana wrote to me in July, 1864, and told me that Rainivoninahitriniony, the Prime Minister, had been disgraced, "as he man of drunkenness," and that his brother Rainilairivony, the Commander-in-Chief, had been appointed to succeed him. It was Rainilairivony who married each Queen in succession after the death of Radama II., and who was exiled with the last Queen to Algiers, where he died.

At my request, my brother, the late Sir John Anson, took great interest in the two Madagascar Ambassadors who were sent to England in 1864, and enabled them to make the following excursions, and be present at the following entertainments, etc. To the Crystal Palace; the Volunteer Review at Guildford, at which the Duke of Cambridge secured them good places; Aldershot; Kew Gardens; the *Messiah* at Exeter Hall; Woolwich Arsenal and Dockyard; Woolwich Barracks; Portsmouth Dockyard, and H.M.S. *Excellent*; Manchester; Liverpool; and a soirée at Lambeth Palace. They attended the Levée; were received by Lord Russell at the Foreign Office; dined twice at my brother's to meet the Beresford Hopes, Sir Alexander Hood, Lord Vernon, and Sir Peregrine Maitland, with the last of whom Rainifaringa fraternized, and said afterwards to my brother, "I do like that old man, he converse so nicely." They also visited Westminster Abbey; St. Paul's; the Chapel Royal, where the Archbishop preached; Marylebone Church; Spurgeon's Chapel; Islington Cattle Market; British Museum; Army and Navy Museum; Houses of Parliament; St. Catherine's Docks; Bank of England; the Mint; and the Tower of London. They were received by the Archbishop and the Bishop of London. Dined with my brother's friend, Mr Arthur Kinnaird, and were at his evening party. He also took them to Lady Palmerston's evening party, where one of them told a lady that she looked very clean as all the English ladies did, but that she ought not to wear her dress so low, which was considered a good hit, as that young lady was said to be sometimes rather *décolletée*.

On their arrival in England it seemed uncertain how the Ambassadors would be received, as the Foreign Office affected great jealousy because they had no introduction from Mr Pakenham, the Consul; but Lord Palmerston, with whom my

brother communicated, through Mr Kinnaird, said good-naturedly, "no doubt they will be well received." My brother had communicated with the Colonial Office concerning them.

Through Mr Kinnaird, my brother obtained for them a private interview with Mr Layard, under-secretary at the Foreign Office, to whom they wished to complain of the conduct of Mr Pakenham.

After the Ambassadors had left for Paris, my brother wrote to me and said, "I shall quite miss their friendly faces, which I have missed very few days in seeing, since they arrived in England. Their conduct has been most gentlemanly, and irreproachable. I never saw or heard of them doing a thing that one would find fault with in morals or manner."

The following letter to my brother from one of them, Rainandriandraina, gives an account of a custom in his country.

"4 Cavendish Square. March 10, 1864.

DEAR FRIEND,

Although we are far away from Madagascar we do not forget that this is the beginning of the New Year in our own land. Our friends and families in Madagascar are rejoicing on this account, yesterday morning all the cattle intended to be killed on this occasion were driven into the country where the slaves and children amused themselves with them. Of course we could not send our cattle into the country but in the evening we observed the custom called 'fotsiaritra,' first we acknowledged our allegiance to the Queen by presenting her with a sovereign which Rainifiringia received on her behalf, saying 'May God make you happy, may God bless you, may you reach old age Rasoharina Mpanjaka [Queen], may you never be sick, may you live as long as the people, may we all see a thousand New Years, may death not separate us and our families.' When this was finished we sprinkled some hot water on our hands (water supposed to be from a spring and boiled in a pot never before used) then the eldest in the company sprinkled this same water three times on those present, afterwards we partook of some fatted fowl, after which all the people are supposed to bathe. This finished the ceremonies of yesterday. To-day the people kill cattle and send pieces to their *friends* and families. According to our custom we send you this morning a piece of beef, which according to the customs of our country

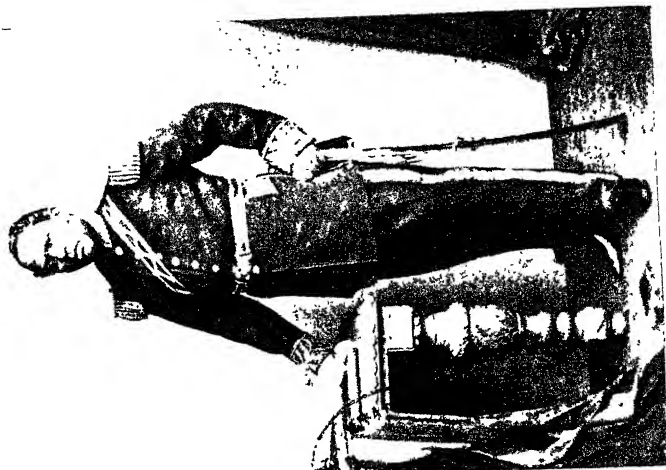
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is meat to confirm and strengthen our friendship. A piece of beef sent in this way is called 'Jaka.' We send the jaka to you from friends to a friend. May God bless us all to see a thousand New Years, may no separation occur in our families saith your friends,

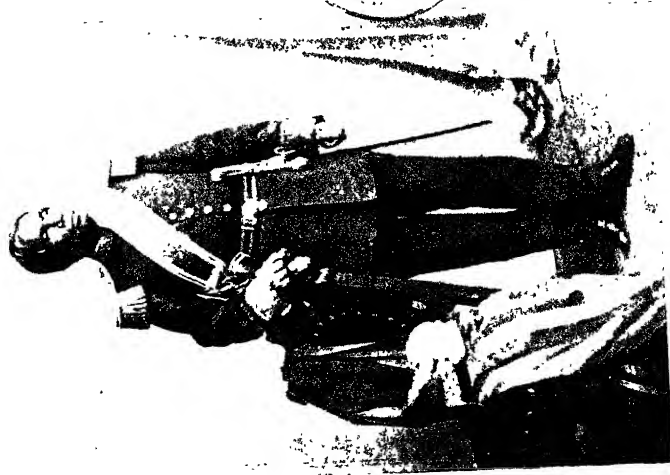
RAINIFIRINGIA,
RAINANDRIANANDRAINAINA."

In one of my brother's letters he said—

"I understand the Emperor of the French spoke very fairly to the Bishop of Mauritius, as to his desire and intention not to be led into any squabble with England about Madagascar. I hope you may cease to be the bugbear at the Foreign Office that Pakenham and Admiral Dupré have honoured you by making you. When the Ambassadors went to Paris on their way back to Madagascar, the Emperor fixed the compensation to be paid by that country for the repudiation of the French treaty, &c., at £48,000."



RAINANDRIANANDRAINAINA.



RAINIFIRINGIA.

THE MALAGASY AMBASSADORS TO ENGLAND.

[Facing p. 240.]

CHAPTER XII

EXPERIENCES IN MAURITIUS—*continued*

(1862–1865)

IN November, 1862, my kind friends, Mr and Mrs Boyle, arrived in Mauritius. He came out as Director of the Railway Department, with Mr John Douglas (afterwards Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements, after that Colonial Secretary and Lieut-Governor of Ceylon, and later Sir John Douglas, K.C.M.G.), as his Assistant.

The two lines of railway at Mauritius were being constructed by the contractors, Messrs Brassey & Co., and I let a small house on my property at Plaines Wilhems to his overseers. The railway passed through my property for a distance of about a quarter of a mile, and I received £500 compensation on account of it. It was a convenience and saving of expense to the contractors to place the earth excavated from the cutting on my ground to level it; and so it was a benefit to me. They also erected a well-built stone wall, 4 feet high and 2 feet wide at the top, all along the boundary between the railway and my property. On the other side of the main road which bounded my property there was erected a railway bridge over the ravine, through which flowed the Grand River. This iron bridge was 11 feet wide and about 600 feet long, divided into two equal parts. Each part was constructed, length by length, on the ground on its own side of the ravine, and gradually pushed across over twin iron pillars, constructed of sections, each section being composed of perpendicular segments. The height of the highest pillars was 125 feet, and when completed they were filled with concrete.

A story became current among the natives in connection with this bridge. There was an old legend that a siren

inhabited the Grand River, who was seldom seen ; and with the exception of having carried into its cave some imprudent dhobies, who had been overtaken during floods, had not caused much trouble. It had lived quietly and peaceably until the imprudence of the constructors of the railway troubled its repose. Then it was reported that some unknown and supernatural hand every night destroyed the work that had been done on the railway during the day ; that the heaviest materials were removed ; and further, that not a day passed that some workmen, under some fatal influence, did not fall from the scaffolding above and be crushed on the rocks below. At last a workman volunteered to watch at night to try and discover the author of this trouble. At midnight a bubbling of the water in the river took place, and a strange form raised itself out of it. It was the siren. Her long hair fell over her shoulders, her eyes were emerald green and fiery. Moving towards the work done during the day, with a puff of her breath she upset it. She was about to retire when she perceived the watcher, who, frightened, had thrown himself face down on the ground. Addressing him in a sweet and musical voice, she said, "Get up, you are safe. Go and see the overseer and tell him that the works will never be finished unless the Government pays its tribute of blood. Look sharp and deliver this message, or you will not see the new year." (It was then December.) "I require," she said, "three hundred infants, ninety young girls, four women, and a bullock." After that, so the story ran, it was bad to leave infants alone on the roads, their parents heard no more of them ; and it was said, go where one should, to any district in the island, and speak to any person one met, one would hear the heartbreaking account of Mrs This or Mrs That, whose infant had disappeared. It is to be presumed that the siren obtained all that she required, for the bridge was finished and the trains passed safely over it. But in a violent hurricane some years after one half of it was blown over the ravine.

On the 9th Jan., 1863, the Governor of Mauritius, Sir William Stevenson, died. He was a very good, clever, clear-headed, and kind-hearted man, an excellent Governor, and a very kind friend to me. I greatly lamented his loss. His daughter married his aide-de-camp, Lieut Marindin, Royal

Engineers, who, as Sir Francis Marindin, was Inspector of Railways under the Board of Trade. In a letter he wrote to me, on the death of his father-in-law, he told me how much the Governor had been overworked, and how greatly he had been distressed by the appointment and conduct of the Consul of Madagascar, about whom he was about to write a dispatch to the Secretary of State, but found himself unable from want of strength to do so. He also told me how much Sir William had appreciated my services.

In March, 1862, after the death of Sir William Stevenson, Major-General Johnstone, who, as commanding the troops, took over the administration of the Government, having conceived the idea that my department was in a very bad state, paid it a surprise visit. After his visit he told the Colonial Secretary, who accompanied him, that he had expected to have a great deal to find fault with, but that on the contrary he had found much to approve of. He then issued the following memorandum, which was sent to me, officially from the Colonial Secretary's Office, for my information.

"It is due to the Inspector-General of the Police Force, whose central station I have this day visited, to mention that I have experienced much satisfaction in observing an excellent arrangement in everything that came under my notice connected with the discipline, health, and appearance of his men, as well as with the cleanliness and order of his barracks. Considering the want of accommodation and space in the police buildings, it reflects very much credit on Captain Anson and his officers, that a full and nearly effective establishment of stores, clothing, printing, messing, book circulation, and indoor amusements, should have been organized. I have pleasure also in noticing that there has been a fair display of zeal and intelligence among the men in the performance of their active duties; and I hope to have many proofs that this zeal proceeds from an honest desire to perform them faithfully, and uninfluenced by all motives of mere personal interest."

In connection with this surprise visit an anonymous complaint was made against me to the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State, who wrote a dispatch to the Acting-Governor, of which the following is an extract.

“Although the papers enclosed are anonymous communications, and apparently written from malicious motives, they may nevertheless include something which may be of use to you in your supervision of the prisons and police. The assertion that of eight prisoners in confinement at the date of your recent visit of inspection of the prisons six were liberated on the morning of that day, and two were sent to the East End station, in order that they might not have an opportunity of communicating with you, is probably false; but it may be worth while to ascertain whether any Europeans were prematurely liberated, or needlessly removed, on the day in question; and if so, on what grounds.”

In the ordinary course I was called upon to report on these accusations, and in doing so, pointed out that, as the Acting-Governor's visit had been a surprise one, of which he had given me no previous information, I could have made no arrangement before his arrival at my office in connection with it. I also forwarded a report of my superintendent, who stated that what had been represented by the anonymous correspondent had been done only in connection with the ordinary routine duties of the Police Department.

The police force in Mauritius at that time consisted of an inspector-general, a superintendent (for the town of Port Louis), an adjutant (who was also the detective-inspector), 16 inspectors, a sergeant-major, a quartermaster-sergeant, 10 district sergeant-majors, 9 mounted sergeants, 19 mounted corporals, 73 sergeants, 28 corporals, 445 first and second class European constables, of English and many foreign nationalities, 1 Indian sirdar and 113 Indian constables, 29 peons (messengers), 64 grooms and labourers, and 1 fireman.

At Seychelles, 1 inspector, 1 district sergeant-major, 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, 18 first and second class constables, and 1 peon.

At Rodrigues, 1 inspector (who was also magistrate and in charge of the island), 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, 5 first and second class constables, and 1 peon.

The duties of the police, as laid down by Ordinance 11 of 1860, were—

1. Preserving the peace.
2. Preventing and detecting crimes, misdemeanours, and

contraventions of the laws, including the laws for the public revenue.

3. Apprehending, and causing to be apprehended, persons who shall have been charged with having committed any crime, or other aforesaid.

4. Regulating processions.

5. Regulating the traffic upon the public thoroughfares.

6. Preserving order and decorum in public places and places of public resort, at public meetings, and in assemblies for public amusement; for which purpose officers and constables of police, when on duty, shall have free admission to all such places, meetings, and assemblies, while open to any of the public.

7. Assisting in carrying out the sanitary and quarantine laws, for which latter purpose any member of the police force shall be bound, on receiving orders from his superior officer, to mount guard over vessels and persons in quarantine.

8. Assisting in preserving order in the different ports and harbours in the colony and dependencies, and in enforcing the port regulations therein; for this purpose the inspector-general in Mauritius, and the chief officer of police in each of the dependencies, may lawfully order any of the police force therein, to act as harbour police on board any boats which may be provided for that purpose, as well as on shore.

9. Executing summonses and warrants issued by the several district and stipendiary magistrates, in complaints for crimes, misdemeanours, or contraventions of the law.

10. Exhibiting informations and conducting prosecutions for crimes, misdemeanours, and contraventions of the law, subject to any rules, as to the exercise of any such duty to be contained in any police regulations.

In addition to the above, there was the protection of sea fisheries, and the forests. The natives were in the habit of catching quantities of very small young fish, which they made into curry. For this purpose they used either small-meshed nets or what were called battatrandis. These latter were made of a kind of convolvulus that grew on the shore, twisted into a rope about 15 inches or more in circumference in the middle, and gradually lessening to a few inches at the ends. They were about 100 feet long, and were used to drag with

instead of a net. The small fish fled into the interstices of this, and were picked out when it was drawn ashore. It was a very destructive contrivance for taking the small fish.

At the end of November, 1863, Sir Henry Barkly arrived at Mauritius as Governor. He had been Governor of British Guiana, Jamaica, and Victoria (Australia), which last-named colony he had just left.

In 1863 I published a set of regulations for the Police Department, which I printed at the press which I had established. No code of Standing Orders had previously existed. A copy of these Orders was also printed in Tamil for the Indian constables.

I also printed an edition of the Penal Code (Ordinance No. 6 of 1838), with footnotes indicating the alterations that had been made in it by Ordinances since the date on which it had been passed. The original edition had been expended, and copies of it could not be obtained, so that new members of the Bar and others were very glad to purchase copies of my edition; and the profits from the sale of them went to increase the Police Reward Fund. In connection with this I received the following letter:—

From Sir Charles Shand, Chief Justice of Mauritius.

“MY DEAR CAPTAIN ANSON,

I beg to thank you for the copy of your reprint of the Penal Code of the Colony, which you were so kind as to send me the other day. I have looked through it, and find it very accurately and well printed, a virtue very rare in Mauritius, speaking at least of printing in English. Copies of the Penal Code are very scarce; your new edition will be very useful.

With best regards, very truly yours,
C. FARQUHAR SHAND.”

One of the duties of the police was to check vagrancy—that was, to arrest those engaged immigrants who deserted from the estates of the masters to whom they were indentured, the number of which, at that time, was over 16,000 in the year. There was a mounted European police officer, accompanied by an Indian constable, employed in each district for this duty; and a special stipendiary magistrate in each district,

before whom vagrants were brought up for punishment. As they were sent to the criminal prisons, of which there were nine in the island, one in each district, I suggested to the Governor that there should be a special depôt, to be styled the "Vagrant Depôt," established for them in Port Louis, where they should be employed at public works, found for them by the Surveyor-General, and when at work be under the charge of the police; that the work should be rather more irksome than that on an estate, and that they should have a little less food than they were by law entitled to receive on it. This led to the Governor laying the following minute before his Legislative Council:—

"I have to submit, for the consideration of the Council of Government, the draft of an Ordinance, which has been prepared, at my instance, by the Procureur-General, for amending the law for the punishment and suppression of vagrancy. The great prevalence of vagrancy, within the limits of Port Louis, was one of the subjects pressed on my attention by the Corporation on my first arrival; and in subsequent journeys through the island, and visits to the different gaols, I have not failed to be struck with the fact that a large proportion of their inmates are imprisoned for this offence.

Of the origin of this tendency to breach of contract under the Immigration Regulations I am scarcely yet in a position to judge, but there can be little doubt that the result is no less prejudicial to the community at large, through the idle habits which it engenders, and the serious crimes to which it leads, than it is to the planters, who lose the services of the immigrants. Possibly the aggregate number of the vagrants is not greater than might be expected, considering the existing state of affairs in the colony and the character of the people to be dealt with, but special means of coping with the evil seem to me imperatively requisite, and the accommodation provided for criminals under the old order of things, is assuredly altogether inadequate and inappropriate for the purpose to which it has, in the altered condition of society, and with the immense increase of population, to be put.

It is well known that the Gaol of Port Louis, a third part at least of whose inmates are usually vagrants, has been the focus of those terrible epidemics which have of late years devastated the isle; whilst to such a degree have the district prisons been overcrowded, that Bombay fever lingered in most of them until a very recent period, and its ravages were only

arrested by extraordinary measures on the part of the authorities. It would be bad enough if the prevalence of Vagrancy were thus instrumental in generating and diffusing physical disease throughout the land, but I much fear that, under the present system, it is the means of spreading a moral pestilence of a far more alarming character.

Owing to want of room, any attempt at classification and separation of prisoners, as prescribed by the Prison Ordinance of 1838, is, in most instances, out of the question, and the man who has committed no graver offence than that of absenting himself from the service in which he engaged, is left to work all the day, and too often to herd at night with the vilest and most hardened criminals.

Nor is the treatment he experiences whilst so confined at all calculated to make crime repulsive in his eyes; for the Prison Regulations, adopted under the humane reaction which succeeded slavery, have been rendered so scrupulously lenient, that he is called on to work fewer hours, and finds himself better fed, than on the estate he has deserted, so that if at the commencement of his first sentence the new Immigrant looks forward with apprehension to the imprisonment he has to undergo, by the end of his term he not merely ceases to dread it, but leaves his cell to earn his livelihood with feelings of reluctance and regret. The effect of such a system must inevitably be to efface the line of demarcation between innocence and guilt, to break down every barrier against crime, and gradually to contaminate the whole mass of the labouring population in the Colony.

It is with these gigantic, yet I may almost call them notorious, defects in the present mode of treating vagrants that the ordinance now laid on the table seeks to grapple.

It leaves untouched the more intrinsic question of ascertaining in the first instance who, in the eye of the law, are vagrants and who are not. Probably a strict enforcement by the Police of Ordinance No. 42, of 1844, giving effect to Her Majesty's order in Council of September, 1838, for punishing Rogues and Vagabonds, would do much to rid the wharves and streets of the metropolis of the idlers who now infest them; whilst it might be requisite in the country to impose on all Indians an obligation to produce on demand such certificates as would prove their right to be free from engagements; greater powers being at the same time given to check the frauds now often perpetrated with the aid of old or duplicate or even forged tickets.

I am loth, however, until all other means fail, to propose recourse to stringent measures of a general nature, or to

curtail even to the slightest extent the ample privileges with which old immigrants become here endowed as British Subjects, and I moreover incline to believe that, as has been well observed by the Inspector-General of Police (Major Anson), if a plan can be adopted whereby a vagrant when arrested shall be employed at work just a little more irksome than that on estates, and shall receive less food than the Planter is bound by law to furnish, vagrancy will at no distant date be reduced within circumscribed limits.

Authority is merely sought, therefore, in this Ordinance to constitute the former Convict Barracks at Grand River a Depôt for the detention of vagrants,* under such Regulations as the Governor, in Executive Council, shall see fit to frame. The vagrants to be in charge of the Police, and be employed on public works under the superintendence of the Surveyor General's department.

By thus separating the Indian Immigrants from the ordinary criminal classes, a treatment suitable to the circumstances of their race can be applied, whilst their isolation will admit of more thorough supervision and investigation on the part of the protector of Immigrants, and will materially facilitate the claiming of labourers by their employers, and the restoration, on the expiration of their sentences, to the estates to which they may have been indentured.

On the other hand, the Gaol of Port Louis will at once be relieved of between two and three hundred of its inmates: power being given to extend the provisions of the Ordinance hereafter, whenever similar Depôts can be established throughout the country, so as to reduce in a greater or less degree the existing pressure for space in the district prisons."

The recommendations in this minute were carried out, and I was entrusted with the organization and supervision of the Vagrant Depôt, in which 400 vagrants were confined; and on the Stipendiary Magistrate of Port Louis devolved the hearing of the complaints against the prisoners in it and their punishment. For this, which gave him little extra work, he was granted an addition to his salary of £50 per annum; while I, with a considerable increase of work and responsibility, was granted the liberal allowance of "Nil." I had the gratification of being told that I certainly deserved

* This was my suggestion, and the buildings were altered in accordance with my instructions.

some allowance, but the Government was sorry they could not grant me anything.

About eighteen months after the opening of the Dépôt, an article on the subject of it appeared in the *Commercial Gazette*, the leading newspaper in the colony, from which the following are extracts.

“Plusieurs correspondances nous ayant été adressées, dernièrement, au sujet du Dépôt des vagabonds qui se trouve à la Grand' Rivière, nous avons voulu visiter cet établissement et voir pour nous-même de quelle manière il fonctionne. Nous avons été très satisfait du résultat de notre visite, que nous allons résumer ici, en l'accompagnant de quelques réflexions qui nous semblent dictées par la raison et le bon sens.

Tout d'abord nous avons été frappé de la discipline qui règne parmi les pensionnaires du Dépôt des Vagabonds, dont le nombre atteint cependant une moyenne d'environ quatre cents hommes. . . . Le Conseil Législatif passa une Ordonnance décrétant que l'ancien bâtiment affecté aux convicts, à la Grand' Rivière, serait désormais considéré comme Dépôt des Vagabonds, en attendant que les constructions nécessaires pour cette nouvelle destination fussent terminées. Des Réglements furent adoptés et la direction du dépôt fut donnée au Capitaine Anson, Inspecteur Général de Police . . . les réformes nécessaires ont été peu à peu introduites et les vagabonds qui sont envoyés à la Grand' Rivière sont soumis à un régime disciplinaire dont les bons effets ne tarderont pas à se faire sentir. Ils sont bien et proprement logés, leur nourriture est saine ; ils vont au travail à 5 ou 6 heures du matin, selon la saison, ils dejeunent à 9 heures et reprennent leur tâche à 10 heures jusqu' à 5 heures du soir, heure à la quelle ils rentrent au Dépôt et dinent. A 6 heures, ils sont enfermés dans deux vastes dortoirs, bien aérés et où la plus grande propreté est sévèrement exigée. L'emploi de leur temps de prison est consacré à l'accomplissement de travaux publics, de sorte que la communauté, en général, profite du nouveau système adopté. Dans la journée et même la nuit, des Officiers de Police visitent constamment le Dépôt et adressent leurs Rapports à l'Inspecteur Général de Police. . . . En un mot, le Dépôt des Vagabonds deviendra un Etablissement indépendant de toutes les autres institutions civiles, sous la direction du Capitaine Anson. . . .

Nous croyons, en avoir assez dit pour convaincre le public que le nouvel établissement qui fonctionne à la Grand' Rivière a une efficacité et une utilité qui ne sauraient être contestée, et ce, sans qu'on soit jamais obligé de déployer une sévérité

outrée. Aussi doit-on féliciter et félicitons-nous sincèrement l'Inspecteur Général de Police d'avoir réussi à établir sur un pied aussi convenable le dépôt des vagabonds de la Grand' Rivière."

At one time among the prisoners at the Dépôt was an Irishman, a confirmed vagrant, who had refused an offer I made him to obtain a passage for him to England. His conduct was so bad in the Dépôt that he was sentenced to receive corporal punishment; and so degraded had he become that he exhibited no sense of shame at having his sentence carried out in the presence of his native fellow prisoners. He was the only European vagrant ever confined there.

One day in January, 1864, I received the following rather singular communication, which speaks for itself.

"Les faits suivants, d'une nature très grave, sont attribués au Curé du Maheboug, Monsieur l'Abbé T—. Après avoir—prêché dernièrement à la chapelle du Grand Sable, sur les femmes qui vont au Bal, et qui doivent, par ce fait, être considérées comme des mauvaises femmes, il a fait passer devant lui celles de ses paroissiennes qui lui ont été désignées comme ayant dansé pendant les fêtes du jour de l'an, pour les frapper avec un morceau de peau.

Si ces faits sont exacts, comme malheureusement on le dit, veuillez avoir la bonté de faire signer, les femmes qui ont été ainsi battues, ou leur parents, ainsi que les témoins de cette scène scandaleuse."

This was signed by two girls who had suffered, and four girls as witnesses, and as they were too much afraid themselves to summon the priest for assault, it was requested that I should have him summoned for them.

A great many Indian children, who were either orphans or who had run away from their parents, frequented the wharves, where they stole anything they could lay their hands on, and lived by their wits, which were exceedingly sharp. At night they slept in empty steam boilers or other things lying on the wharves waiting for removal to the estates. In order to put a stop to the depredations of these young boys, and to benefit them morally, I went to the Governor and asked his permission to spend £14 per mensem for the hire of a house, and a certain additional amount for the wages of an overseer,

in order that I might establish a reformatory for them. This being granted, in a few hours I had the house fitted up and the overseer engaged, having made all preparatory arrangements beforehand. I then gave orders that during the night the police should make a clean sweep of all the vagrant boys on the wharves, and the next day I had my reformatory in full working order, with twenty-five occupants.

With regard to this, the Governor, Sir H. Barkly, in a speech he made at the distribution of prizes to the pupils of the Port Louis Government Schools, said :

“As an instance of what might be done, he would refer to the Indian Vagrant Reformatory, which had its origin, now that he is not present, he might openly state it, in the practical benevolence of Major Anson. This gentleman could not avoid noticing how large a number of juvenile vagrants, sent to the *Depôt* at Grand River, were utterly destitute of any kind of education; and his charitable disposition had excited him to make an effort towards their moral training. Major Anson applied for a building in the neighbourhood, and, in a short time, with the aid of Mr Norvil (the Government schoolmaster at Grand River), a Reformatory School was established on a proper footing. He [the Governor] had several times visited the school, and he could testify that the progress of the children was truly surprising. In a few weeks, they could translate into English three Indian dialects, and it might be said, in passing, sing *God save the Queen*, and some hymns, better than Britons. At first there was a difficulty, which, to a certain extent, required some judgement to surmount. These Indian children were so satisfied with their school, that when the time of their sentence as vagabonds had expired, they did not want to go away. Major Anson inquired of him [the Governor] whether, under these circumstances, he was at liberty to allow them to stay, and in every case, when it was possible, he had been glad to accord the necessary permission, and thus several were enabled to remain to complete their moral training, so well commenced, who would otherwise have perhaps gone further on the road to immorality and vice.”

When I first took over the charge of the Police Department, I found the colony swarming with stray dogs, and, by appointing responsible sergeants, to whom guns were supplied, to destroy them, many hundreds were, in each year, disposed of.

Hydrophobia was very rife in the island, and many dogs suffering from it were killed. There was an officer of the Royal Engineers, who had a pet dog which had a litter of puppies, and, when playing with one of them, it scratched his hand with its tooth, and he shortly after died of the malady. No dogs were allowed to be introduced into the colony by the overland route; and, after paying for their passage, and a *douceur* to the ship's steward for looking after them, owners felt aggrieved that their dogs could not be landed. They came to me to try to get permission to land them, which, of course, I could not grant. I had to put up with a good deal of abuse and strong language, which I suggested they should expend on the law, or those who made it.

The natives of Mauritius were very superstitious, and believed in *gri-gri* or sorcery.

A coloured creole detective sergeant went to look for a man, for the arrest of whom he held a warrant. When he arrived at the compound round the man's house, a cock flew out of it over the wall; and when he found the man was not at home, he was convinced that he had taken the form of a cock, and so got away.

But the natives were not the only people who believed in sorcery. Two Government officials, holding important offices, and English University men, believed in it. One of them availed himself of the assistance of a sorcerer to discover the thief who had stolen something from him. He was directed to get some dead men's bones, and some salt from the salt pans near Fort William, etc., and give some to each of his family, and to do some other extraordinary things, the result of all of which would lead him to ascertain who was the thief.

A large house, containing valuable furniture not long before received from Paris, had been set fire to and burnt down in the district of Mahebourg, and the two officials referred to above consulted a sorcerer, with the result that, on information obtained through him, the creole owner of a neighbouring estate was arrested, and confined at the police station at Mahebourg. I happened to visit that station at the time, and found the man there. I immediately brought the matter to the notice of the Procureur-General, who ordered

the man's release. These two gentlemen got into communication with my Superintendent, and produced to him books on sorcery. Of course he reported everything to me, while he let them think that he was being influenced by them. They pretended to the Governor that they had obtained the information concerning the fire by means of mesmerism, in which, at that time, the Governor had some faith.

There was a "*gri-gri* man" (a sorcerer), a native of Madagascar, who lived up in the country, and was a very mischievous and dangerous individual. Better class people, in carriages, as well as the common people, consulted him. Through fear of his supposed power, or by bribery, he was enabled to assist those who went to him to obtain an influence over those over whom they desire to exercise it improperly. I obtained authority from the Government to deport this man from the colony, under the provisions of the Alien Ordinance, and he went back to Madagascar.

The Sambur deer were preserved in the jungles on the high lands in the heart of the island, by some of the old residents, who invited parties, during the cool season, to shoot them. These parties were called *Chasses*, and the two principal *Chasses* were held, one on the high ground on the Mahebourg side of the Cure Pipe, in the district of the Grand Port; and the other at Grand Bassin, in the district of Savanne. The former was on land rented by Mr Currie and Mr Stein; the latter by Monsieur Pitot, a planter in the district of Savanne. At these places there were hangars, long thatched sheds, at the two ends of which were guard beds, on which the gentlemen slept at night. Down the middle of these sheds was a long table at which the guests, often as many as thirty-six, breakfasted and dined, and were entertained at most hospitable and luxurious repasts. Some of the old creole *piqueurs* frequently diverted the company after dinner by singing French, or French creole songs, some of which were rather racy.

In protecting the Internal Revenue, it was the duty of the police to see that all rum, and molasses intended for conversion into rum, when being conveyed from one place to another in the colony, were accompanied by a permit from the Internal Revenue Department; and when passing a police

station the casks containing these things, and the permits accompanying them, were examined, and a note of them entered in the occurrence book. When the Superintendent of Distilleries made a surprise visit to a distillery, where he had reason to believe there was fraud, he would sometimes be met, on arrival, by the owner, hat in hand, and with a "Bon jour, Monsieur; breakfast is ready, we have been expecting you." The fact was, that the officer had to order a carriage over night, in Port Louis, and so news of his proposed journey the following morning got about; and in the cane-fields there were coolie spies placed, who, by hoisting little flags, passed the warning on from one to another, and so to the distillery. It was estimated that the Revenue lost about £30,000 a year by fraud. In one of my predecessors' times, a distiller made a bet that he would take a cask of rum, on which duty had not been paid, past him, and make him take off his hat to it. The then Inspector-General was accustomed to stand at the entrance gate to the Central Police Office in Port Louis, every afternoon, waiting for his carriage to take him home. On one afternoon, whilst doing so, a funeral party with a hearse passed him. This was not an unusual thing, and, according to his custom, he took off his hat to it. The funeral was a sham, and the hearse contained a cask of rum, and so the distiller won his bet.

It was prohibited to import either chandoo or gandia into the colony, or to grow stramonium.

Chandoo is opium prepared for smoking. It looks, when so prepared, very like treacle. It was an expensive luxury. A considerable number of large tins, supposed to contain butter, was at one time imported into the colony. These tins, however, on being closely examined, were found to contain a small quantity of butter at the top, and underneath a number of small tins of chandoo. The smuggling of this article was carried on by the Chinese for the use of their countrymen.

Gandia (bhang) was smuggled by the Indians, for the use of the natives of their country. It was a dangerous drug, for it was frequently used for the commission of crimes. Stramonium was also employed for criminal purposes. Although the growth of stramonium was prohibited, it was a remarkable fact that, where the huts of Indians had been

abandoned, it was frequently found to spring up out of the neglected ground round them.

I had information once brought to me that a ship in harbour had some gandia on board. I reported this to the Collector of Customs, and we agreed that I and his assistant should visit the vessel. I was anxious to see how the Customs officials did their work. When we got on board, I waited on deck while the Customs officials searched the ship. After doing so, they returned on deck, and reported that they had found nothing. I then gave orders to my detectives to make a search. They very soon came on deck with a large mattress full of gandia.

The theatre in Port Louis belonged to the municipality, and a piece was notified to be performed which was objected to by the municipality authorities. I was in my office in the afternoon of the day it was to be performed, and the Mayor came to see me. After sitting down, he told me that, in consequence of his having put a stop to a piece that the actors were determined to perform, he anticipated a disturbance in the theatre. He then put his hand into his breast-pocket, and, producing a paper, he said, "This is the order for the military," and then taking out another paper, he said, "This is the order for the police." I said, "Never mind that, you have told me what you anticipate, and you need not fear but that I shall be there, and be prepared for whatever may happen." I was rather amused at his thinking it possible that it would be necessary to call out the military, so, in joke, I said, "Don't you think that before you fire on the people, you had better try the effect of your Fire Brigade with a fire engine." He took me seriously, and said he had already ordered them to be there. I went home to my dinner, and returned to my office before the time for the doors of the theatre to be opened, and sat waiting there. About 8 o'clock, a messenger came to tell me the row had begun. I immediately went to the theatre, and entered at the stage entrance. I went to the Mayor's box, where I found him greatly excited. After a short conversation with him, I went to leave again by the stage door, when I was confronted, and nearly knocked down, by the head of the Fire Brigade, with the nozzle of the hose in his hand. I got outside and ran round to the front entrance, and looked in at

one of the doors. I then saw the fire engine in the middle of the stage, pumping away at the remaining occupants of the boxes and pit; most of those, both ladies and gentlemen, who had been there had got outside, after having received a shower bath. Some of the men were greatly excited, and were attempting to re-enter the building, to demand the return of their money. I stood at one door and one of my inspectors at another to prevent this. I had had a bad knee, with blisters on it, and had at the time to walk with a stick. Two or three people got hold of my stick at one end and tried to drag me away from the door with it. Whilst this was going on, I put my foot on a piece of banana skin and slipped, and my knee gave way again. However, at that moment a considerable force of my European constables, whom I had held in readiness, marched from the Central Station, and halted in the peristyle, and relieved me and my inspector from awkward situations.

There was naturally much anger and annoyance consequent on this action of the Mayor, who tried to lay the blame on me, and said it was my doing. I had no authority to give an order to the head of the Fire Brigade (he had formerly been a member of the London Fire Brigade). Regarding the order for the military which the Mayor had produced to me in my office as ridiculous, I had suggested that, before he ordered the military to fire, he should try the effect of his fire engine, not supposing for one moment that such action would be necessary, nor was it. The Mayor was a man with a very peculiar history.

I had two actions for damages, of £200 in each, brought against me in connection with the disturbance which occurred outside the theatre, after it had been closed. But, being supported with counsel by the Government, they were both given in my favour, and cost the parties who brought them pretty dear.

Mauritius is famed for its peculiarly shaped mountain, named *Pieter Botte*. The top of it is formed like a pear resting on its stalk end, and this form makes it very difficult to reach its summit, which is 2874 feet above the sea. The first person to ascend it was the late Lieutenant-General Arthur Taylor, Royal Artillery, when he was a lieutenant, about the year 1832. Viewing this mountain from the Flacq

District, it has the appearance of one of the statues of Queen Victoria. There is another mountain at the back of the town of Port Louis, the summit of which has the form of an upright thumb, and is, in consequence, named *The Pouce*.

In November, 1861, Captain Stirling and Lieutenant Kennedy, of H.M.S. *Wasp*, with Captain Gaskell, 24th Regiment, and some bluejackets from the man-of-war, ascended *Pieter Botte*.

On the 25th Oct. 1864, I went in H.M.S. *Rapid*, ten guns, to pay an official visit to the island of Rodrigues (or, as it was formerly named, Diego Ruys), a dependency of Mauritius. The *Rapid* was anything but rapid in her movements, and we took six days in reaching Rodrigues from Mauritius, arriving there on the 1st November. Rodrigues, which is situated in lat. 19° 41' south, and long. 63° 23' east, about 350 miles east of Mauritius, is eighteen miles long by seven in breadth, and had a population of about 800, principally Creoles of the old Mozambique stock. The island was first settled by a party of eight refugee Protestants from France, who landed there on the 30th April, 1691, and remained there until the 21st May, 1693. They found there the names of some Dutch sailors cut on trees. These settlers left in a roughly constructed boat made by themselves, and reached Mauritius in nine days.

The port of the island of Rodrigues, where the town is situated, is Port Methuen; and is approached between two coral reefs, with not much more than room for a small steamer to pass through. The officer in charge of the island was one of my inspectors, holding the appointment of Magistrate. He had been sergeant-major of the 4th Regiment. He confided to me that he had been a terrible drunkard; and that it had been a tremendous struggle, and the exercise of a most powerful will, to give it up. In this he had, fortunately, been very successful. The only instance of success I ever met with. Others have said to me, when I have punished them for drunkenness, "I know you mean well, sir, but when the fit is on, I must do it."

The town consisted of about forty huts, thatched with the leaves of the Latanier fan palm. Of roads there were none. Captain Morrison, R.E., the Colonial Engineer, had arrived in the colonial tug steamer *Victoria* a few days before, with a

party of officials, including: the Clerk of the Works; the Government Surveyor; a botanist from the Museum at Port Louis, to collect plants for the Botanical Gardens; and a Medical Officer to vaccinate. Captain Morrison laid out the streets for the future town of Port Methuen, and sold a number of plots of land, which were readily bought up by the inhabitants. Nearly all the land belonged to the Government. The forests had all disappeared, partly by fire and partly by destruction for timber by the whalers who had visited the island.

I went by boat about twenty miles to the back of the island to visit some caves. The tide goes out in some parts on the west side to a distance of nearly nine miles, and the boat had frequently to be pushed over the coral in the shoal places. We lit up the cave with torches, of the leaf of the *Latanier* palm, which we sent on a little in front of us. The cave extended, in a zigzag direction, for about a quarter of a mile, varying in height to about 100 feet. The snowy white stalactites were magnificent, and had the appearance of beautiful marble statuary.

One of our boatmen was a very powerful black African constable. When we were leaving on our return, he was missing, and could nowhere be found. It was not until some days afterwards that a party, going to search for him, met him staggering along in an exhausted condition. It was ascertained that he had been seized with a fit, in some out of the way place he had wandered to. An inhabitant of the island shot at a pig that had done some damage to his crops, and, missing the pig, which ran away, he shot this constable, whom he had not noticed. Being, as the creoles were, very superstitious, he declared that the constable had turned into the pig, and so got shot.

There was a small dissenting chapel close to the Grand River suspension bridge, on the main road to Plaines Wilhems and Mahebourg, which was kindly placed at my disposal for an 8 a.m. service on Sundays, for my force stationed at Grand River. At this service we were, shortly after its establishment, joined by about 150 soldiers from the neighbouring camp, for rifle practice, and also about 50 of the general population, natives and others, of the surrounding houses.

Mr Royston, who had been secretary to the Church Missionary Society in Madras, very kindly performed the service for us. He was doing duty at the church at Plaines Wilhems at the time, and afterwards became Bishop of Mauritius, and later Suffragan Bishop of Liverpool.

Mr Besant, the late Sir Walter Besant, came out to Mauritius as one of the professors of the Royal College. He was then particular that his name should be pronounced Be-sant, and not Bess-ant. He afterwards became rector of the College. The rector at that time was a Hungarian, who had been an artillery officer under Kossuth, and been obliged to leave his country. He was a man without proper control of his temper, and, when talking to any one, his eyes moved continually from side to side at a great rate, and reminded one of one of Willing's blinking railway advertisements. Officers of the army went to him to be coached for their examinations, and when he became annoyed with them, for dullness or inattention, he rapped them sharply over the knuckles with a pencil.

On the 1st July, 1865, a public dinner, at which I was present, was given to Mr Longridge, the civil engineer, who had been employed by Messrs Brassey & Co. for the construction of the railway; he having completed his work and being about to leave the colony. Mr Longridge gave a picnic on the following day to 120 people, to which I and my family were invited. The railway was unopened, and still in the contractors' hands; but there was a train made up for the guests, which started from Port Louis at 9 a.m., and was the first train to cross the new Grand River Bridge, just beyond which, at about the third mile, it stopped in my grounds to pick up my party. It then proceeded, picking up other guests, on its way to Mahebourg, 34 miles distant from Port Louis, and at the other side of the island. The line ascends, to about half the distance to Cure Pipe, to a height of about 1700 feet, and then descends to the level of the sea. We remained for about an hour at Mahebourg, and then returned to Marre de Houle, at the twenty-second mile from Port Louis, and walked to the shooting hangar of Mr Currie, lent for the occasion. Here a magnificent luncheon was laid out, at which Mr Boyle, a director of the railway department, made a speech.

A German, who styled himself a doctor, left for Madagascar shortly before I went there, and some one published in one of the local papers a skit, in verse, regarding his supposed treatment of me when I had the fever at Tamatave. He tried to raise a sum of money from among the Hovas, the dominant tribe at Antananarivo, the capital, which he proposed to take to Mauritius, to invest for them in tools, etc., for working mines. One Hova had almost promised him 500 dollars for this purpose, but the day before the German left the capital this Hova sent his two sons to me, to ascertain what was my opinion of the scheme, with the result that he was left without the 500 dollars. When he lectured on his travels in Madagascar before the Royal Geographical Society in London, he said a great deal about the bad treatment he had received in Madagascar. If he was not well received there, he could have had only himself to blame for it, for at that time the people of the country were most kind and hospitable to all the European travellers who went there. This individual arrived from Australia, where, he asserted, he had become a naturalized British subject, and in consequence claimed the right to be so considered in Mauritius. He conducted himself so seditiously that it had been under consideration to deport him from the colony as an alien.

Murder was not uncommon among the Indians. They mostly belonged to the lowest class of the population of India. Jealousy was the cause of many of the murders. The Secretary of State for the Colonies told the Governor of Mauritius that the proportion of murder cases amongst Indians was greater in the West Indies. At one assizes no less than seven men were condemned to death for murder; but the sentence in the case of four of them was commuted to twenty years' imprisonment; and after I had had the gallows enlarged for the carrying out of the sentences of the three remaining, two of them had their sentences commuted also.

At one time, under the law of the colony, the death sentence was communicated to me, as the Head of the Police, and then I had to sign the death warrant; but this was afterwards altered, and the warrant was addressed by the judge to me or my lawful deputy for execution.

The Mussulmans had been in the habit of firing guns, of

about the calibre of four-pounders, up and down the street near their mosque, during certain festivals, and also holding processions and beating tomtoms, to the great annoyance of the rest of the community; the Chinese also fired crackers in the public streets, and caused obstructions and other annoyances during their festivals. The Roman Catholics, at their Fête Dieu, also fired guns up and down the street, in front of their cathedral, and paraded the principal street leading to the Champ de Mars, and up the road on one side of it, to their *reposoir* at the top of it.

Under the powers of the Police Ordinance, I issued instructions for the regulation of all processions, etc., and as these did not please the above, they held a combined meeting in the theatre, and drew up a petition to the Queen, begging that my regulations should be cancelled. Of course, this petition was forwarded home to the Secretary of State, through the Governor, with his report on it. Great were the hopes that I should come to grief, as a former Inspector-General had, under somewhat similar circumstances; and expectation ran high when the mail came in, by which the answer was expected to arrive. It did come, but alas! for the petitioners, it brought the approval of my regulations.

Mauritius, or Isle of France, was discovered by the Portuguese in 1507, and sighted by the Dutch in 1598, who, in 1644, formed a settlement there, but abandoned it in 1712. The French occupied the island in 1715, and remained in possession of it until it was captured by the British, under General Abercromby and Admiral Bertie, in 1810. It is reported that the Dutch found it uninhabited, and were driven out of it by the swarms of ferocious rats. In the year 1826, according to an official report, about 830,000 rats were destroyed.

In the year 1735, Monsieur Mahé de Labourdonnais was appointed Governor of Mauritius and Bourbon, by the French East India Company; and while I was at Mauritius, a statue was erected to his memory. There was a great function on the occasion, with a guard of honour, etc. An officer of the 5th Regiment, in full dress, who was present, had his shako knocked off by a colonial gentleman of French extraction, because he did not take it off when the French National

Anthem was being played. I witnessed this assault, and prosecuted the gentleman, and took measures to prevent what threatened to lead to a "pistols and coffee" affair. The officer was very young, very delicate and frail, and a particularly nice, quiet, gentlemanly fellow.

When the 24th Regiment was leaving the colony, the major in command, and some of the other officers, had arranged to dress this statue in the uniform of a British officer, with a shako on its head; and they had prepared a pair of trousers, with ties down the sides, to be put on its legs. I received information of this, and had constables on duty near the monument, and so prevented this scheme being carried out. Had it been, it would have given the greatest offence to all the French residents, and led to much trouble.

I put a stop to a duel between an officer of the 13th Regiment and a civilian, a son of one of the principal families in the colony. There had been some difference between these two individuals, and the officer had gone to the office of the civilian, and meeting this gentleman's father, an elderly man, outside the door, after an altercation with him, had knocked him down. I believe a lady was, originally, at the bottom of this matter. However, the officer and the son had arranged to fight. When this was brought to my knowledge, I obtained a warrant against the officer, and went to see him at the barracks. There I urged him to give up his intention of resorting to pistols (for duels, it was usual to go to the island of Bourbon), but he would not hear of it. Then I said, "If you will not, I shall have to execute this warrant." This brought him to his senses, and eventually he came to terms with me, and the matter was settled amicably.

There was a Roman Catholic priest who, somehow, generally managed to become acquainted with intended encounters of this nature, and gave private information to the police.

My predecessors appear to have either encouraged or winked at such proceedings; but I put my foot down on them at once.

On one occasion that my duty took me on board the P. and O. mail steamer, on its arrival in the harbour, the agent of the company said to me: "There are some natives on board, who were with Captain Speke during his travels in

Africa; they were to go to Zanzibar, *viâ* Seychelles, but our steamer did not touch there, so that they could not be landed there. The vessel remains here for a month, and we don't know what to do with them." I volunteered to undertake the charge of them, and had them, twenty men and four women, taken up to my Central Police Station. The headman was called Captain John Bombay. I raised a subscription for them, and sent them to see a circus, and otherwise entertained them. When they were leaving, I divided among them the remainder of the money that had been subscribed. I gave a larger share to the head man, a lesser share to each of the other men, and a small sum to each of the women; but the captain claimed all the women as his wives, and made them hand over to him what they had received.- I afterwards received a letter from Speke, thanking me for the care I had taken of his "Faithful Children." They were all that had remained faithful to him to the last. Speke also made mention of my having taken care of them, at the end of his book, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, and their portraits appear there also.

In September, 1865, I applied for leave to go to England; and, when it was granted, Major McDonald, commanding the 2nd battalion of the 13th Regiment, was appointed to act as Inspector-General in my absence. But as he would require the full half-salary of the appointment, I was informed, by the Governor, that the usual arrangement, that an officer going on leave might draw his full salary for the first three months of it, could not be granted. He was good enough, however, to say he regretted this, as I most certainly deserved this indulgence. I therefore received the following order from him.

"Inform Major Anson that, although it will be necessary that his *locum tenens*, Major McDonald, 2nd batt., 13th Regt, should draw the half pay and full allowances of Inspector-General from the date of his appointment, I am so conscious of the value of the services, both official and extra official, which he has rendered to the Colony; and consider his claim to the indulgence of three months' full pay so strong, that I am prepared to sanction the payment of an equivalent to him out of the Police Reward Fund."



SPEKE'S FAITHFULS.



THE WOMEN WHO FORMED PART OF SPEKE'S FAITHFULS.

The Governor also wrote the following private letter to me.

"MY DEAR ANSON,

On thinking over the arrangements which it will be best to make during your absence from the Colony on leave, I can come to no other conclusion than that your locum tenens ought to be a military man of sufficient rank and standing to preserve the subordination of the Inspectors, and the general discipline of the Force, whilst, at the same time, competent to retain the same influential position as yourself in relation to other Heads of the Departments in the Colonial Service. It is needless for me to repeat how deeply I shall regret to lose your invaluable assistance.

Yours very truly,
HENRY BARKLY.

14th Sept. 1865."

Major McDonald was an elderly man, and had risen from the ranks. He was, I believe, a brother of the sculptor. He had been brigade major at Aldershot, and the Duke of Cambridge had said of him, that he was the best brigade major he had ever known.

I never returned to Mauritius, and the appointment was, on my retirement, filled by Lieut-Colonel O'Brien, from Ceylon, who had been at Sandhurst, and in the 67th, 70th, 5th, and 22nd Regiments. He became Sir Terence O'Brien, Governor of Heligoland (he it was who handed it over to the Germans), and afterwards Governor of Newfoundland.

The last few days at Mauritius, before going on leave, I and my family spent with the Governor and Lady Barkly at "Redit," the Governor's country residence. This was prettily situated at Moka, about 1000 feet above the sea, and eight miles from Port Louis.

Sir Henry Barkly drove us down to the wharf in his carriage with four-in-hand, to go on board the P. and O. steamer, on leaving; and gave us a very kind "send off." Mr Boyle, who accompanied us to England, had also been staying at "Redit."

Sir Henry very kindly gave me the following testimonial.

"Government House, Mauritius, 6th Nov. 1865.

MY DEAR ANSON,

I have written, as you are aware, to the Secretary for the Colonies, in granting you leave of absence as Inspector

General of the Police Force of the island, testifying in strong terms to the efficient manner in which you have performed the duties of that office. I can, of course, speak only from personal observation for the last two years, during which I have administered the Government, but the late Sir William Stevenson's high opinion of your conduct for the five years previous, is on record; and the Newspaper Press, of all Parties, has been unanimous, on the occasion of your departure, as to the success with which you re-organized the Force, which is stated to have been in very bad order when you took over the command, and as to the mingled tact and firmness with which you have, at all times, since, preserved the peace of the community. Were you about to quit the colony for good, I should have been happy to address H.R.H. Commanding in chief in your favour; but as I hope to see you resume your Civil functions here, on the expiration necessary for the recruitment of your health, that course was not open to you. You are quite at liberty, however, to produce this letter to the Military authorities at home, should the occasion arise, or to refer them direct to me for any information I can give as to your services as Inspector General.

Whether you return to Mauritius, whilst I remain there or not, I trust you will believe me always,

Yours most sincerely,

HENRY BARKLY."

I also received the following testimonial from General Johnstone.

"Mauritius, 1st January, 1866.

MY DEAR ANSON,

You merit much more than I can say in your favor. The Police, a most motley force when you undertook their organization, were brought by the effect of your good judgment and zeal into a discipline and esprit and appearance worthy of the best corps of Police in Europe. You had much to contend with, much misrepresentation on the part of the Press, and much opposition from interested and envious persons.

The value of your service may be measured by the fact that at the day of your departure all the discord of opposition had been changed to notes of praise.

During the time I administered the Government, my attention was called in a most particular manner to the state of the Police which was generally designated the enemy rather than the protector of the people. After a close and impartial scrutiny into the matter, I recollect I gave an expression in

writing of a very strong opinion in your favour. I shall have pleasure in bearing testimony by that or any other means afforded me to your value as an energetic and able officer.

Believe me to remain,

Yours sincerely,

M. C. JOHNSTONE, Lieut.-GENERAL."

I offered my property for sale before I left Mauritius, but was unsuccessful in finding a purchaser, but I let it to the Collector of Internal Revenues, who had been Governor of Cape Coast Castle, on the West Coast of Africa. I let it for £200 per annum, but, the fever having broken out, the rent, at the end of the first year, was reduced to £60, and then my tenant left. The fever, of which 20,000 people died in Port Louis, injured the value of all property at the lower elevations; and the opening of the railway, which I thought would add to the value of mine (which was 300 feet above the sea, and close to the first station out of Port Louis), failed to do so.

My agent sold the house and part of the land for £450 with the understanding that the purchaser was to have the remainder of the land ($17\frac{1}{2}$ acres) for the nominal rent of £2 per annum until it should be sold. This sum I directed should be paid to the Bishop, towards some charity. For the whole of this property I had paid about £4000, and had received £500 compensation from the railway for the land taken for passing through it. The rate of exchange was so against sending money home, that I did not receive the proceeds of the sale for seventeen years, and I did not dispose of the $17\frac{1}{2}$ acres for thirty-eight years; and then received only about £40 for them. At the time I bought them they were worth about £50 per acre.

With regard to the fever, I received the following account from my former superintendent (who eventually died of it), dated the 6th July, 1867.

"At last the fever is disappearing, and one begins to breathe freely again. I should not like again to pass through such a heartrending scene in a hurry. Out of our small force alone, we have lost about one hundred men since the beginning of the year. Nothing remains of the Reward Fund, all has been spent in providing comforts for the unfortunate constables, their widows and families, and in burying the dead. We have

lost as many as seven men in a day. Mostly all the inspectors have suffered, some of them severely, but there has been no single death among them. As regards myself, I have been only too thankful to do what I could for the suffering, having been mercifully saved from the disease myself; and, although living in the midst of the pestilence, Mrs Prince and our children have escaped.

The families of our married men have suffered frightfully. The Vagrant Dépôt has been converted into a hospital since 18th March; since that date no less than 2423 unfortunates picked up by the police have been admitted there; and out of that number 479 have died: there are still 178 patients under treatment. The mortality among vagrant prisoners has been very great. Sergeant-Major Renton (in charge of the Vagrant Dépôt) died after repeated attacks of fever. Six sergeants, whom I sent to replace Renton, were bowled over with fever, after a few days at the Dépôt. Since I removed the men from Dr Powell's house, and put them in tents in the Vagrant Dépôt yard, there has been very little sickness.

I could fill reams of notepaper with the fearful ravages of fever amongst my own people alone. Thank God, it is now almost over."

The following article appeared in the *Commercial Gazette*, the leading journal of Mauritius, on the 21st Sept. 1865.

"It is now generally known that Major Anson is about to quit the island, on leave of absence, and we should be wanting in our duty as a journalist, and in the duties we have to fulfil towards the public, if we failed to address him a few words of grateful acknowledgment of the services he has rendered the colony in his capacity of Chief of the Police.

It was in September, 1858, that Major Anson replaced Major Cathcart as Superintendent of Police, and so soon as he had the reins of administration in his hands, he displayed an activity and a vigour till then unknown in the department. At one glance he appreciated the position of affairs, and recognizing the deplorable condition into which the department had been allowed to fall, he comprehended the necessity of at once placing our Police Force, both in town and the districts, on a better footing, by instituting essential modifications in the system hitherto adopted. He went immediately to work. As a military man, knowing the absolute necessity of order and regularity, and the needfulness of respecting discipline and making it respected, he could not but consider that a radical

change was wanting in the department over which he was called upon to rule.

A complete success attended his intelligent efforts, and the creation of a model Police Force was the result of his exertions.

It was perfectly natural in a man in the habit of counting the number of his enemies before attempting to combat them, that Major Anson, at the commencement, felt that the force under his command was insufficient for the duties it had to perform. The Constables, at that time, were composed, for the most part, of creoles or Indians, who showed but little energy in the execution of their duty, and who did not appear to understand the immense advantages to be derived from an organized system established on a firm basis. In fact, at the time we are speaking of, no one respected our Police Force, and even criminals had no fear of it. Yet our Indian population was even then upwards of 165,000, of which number at least one-third were uncivilized, and devoid of all morality. Vagrancy, that obstacle to all discipline on our sugar estates, existed on an extensive scale, and the means for its repression were so insufficient, that Planters scarcely took the trouble to make any official declaration of the names of the Deserters from their estates, convinced as they were that their doing so could lead to no satisfactory results. A special brigade was at last established, and very shortly afterwards the abuse to which we refer was to a great extent remedied.

It is scarcely necessary to remind our readers that, at this time, it was absolutely necessary that men should be found to recruit our police force, who should be of good character, and who, by the firm and intelligent discharge of their duty, should evince that they were worthy of the responsible office to which they were appointed. But unfortunately this class of man was very difficult to be found, and, at first going off, Major Anson was, as it were, constrained to augment the number of his constables, by engaging discharged soldiers and sailors, and such other well-disposed persons who offered their services, but whose engagement in some instances, resulted in new obstacles and new difficulties. There was indeed but little choice in the matter; it was necessary to accept the first comer, who, at first sight, should appear to deserve confidence. The consequence was, many nominations of men who by their bad conduct, and their incapacity, were a reproach to the Force. Since then, things have changed very much for the better, and now it can be confidently asserted that the utmost order and discipline exist in this important department, and the public safety is secured by its effective organization. Certainly, it happens, from time to time, that errors and faults are committed by

CHAPTER XIII

RETURN TO ENGLAND, AND APPOINTMENT AT PENANG

(1865-1871)

THE P. & O. steamer, a small one, in which we left Mauritius, was the *Sultan*. We had as companions on board besides Mr Boyle, Mr and Mrs Hay Hill (the British Consul of Réunion and his wife). We touched at Seychelles, where Mr Swinburne Ward, the Civil Commissioner, came off to see us, and presented us with a nut of the *Coco-de-Mer* in its green outer shell, which was of much interest to our fellow passengers, who had never seen one, and amongst whom we divided the jelly-like substance contained in it. The exterior of the nut itself is divided into twin oval lobes, joined together like the Siamese twins.

At Aden we breakfasted with the Commissioner, Brigadier General Raines, and his wife, who had lately been on a visit to Mauritius. Having left Mauritius in the hot season, when the sun was south of the equator, we found Aden comparatively cool in its winter season.

The Suez Canal had not been opened, we therefore landed at Suez, and went by rail to Alexandria, spending a day or two at Cairo, and Mr Boyle was interested in seeing the place where a relation of his had, many years ago, been imprisoned. For what cause, I forget.

While in Paris, on our way through France, we desired to see the daughters of Monsieur Autard de Bragard, who were at one of the principal convents there. We went to one of the convents, and after I had had a Spanish and a Portuguese nun introduced to me, to ascertain what I wanted, it was discovered that I was English, and then I was informed that the girls were not there. We then went to another convent, and, having gone through somewhat similar introductions, I found

the girls were there. We were then permitted to see them in a long room, divided, longitudinally, into two narrow divisions by a wooden partition, about three to four feet high, and above the partition an iron lattice, through the small diamond-shaped openings of which we could only insert the crumpled ends of our fingers, to shake hands with them. It was the elder of these two girls who afterwards married Count Lesseps, the engineer of the Suez Canal.

On arrival in England, I went with my family to stay at Tunbridge Wells with my brother-in-law, the Rev^d William Thornton, who was married to my second sister; and from there we went to my brother, Sir John Anson, who was living in Lord Eldon's house, at Shirley, near Croydon. The day of my arrival there, I met Archbishop Longley at dinner and the following day went out shooting at Addington Park, the Archbishop's, where much of the ground was covered with heather. After that, we paid visits among relations and friends in England, Scotland and Ireland; including Mr Farrer, at Ingleborough, in Yorkshire; Mr Bouverie Primrose, in Edinburgh; Colonel and Lady Louisa Tenison, at Kilronan Castle, Co. Leitrim; Mr and Mrs Clayton Browne, at Browne's Hill, Co. Carlow; Captain and Mrs Pack Beresford, at Fenagh, Co. Carlow; The Master Brooke, at Taney, near Dublin; Sir Victor and Lady Brooke, at Colebrooke, Co. Fermanagh; Mr Thornton, Brockhall, Northamptonshire, and at many other places.

When staying in a country house in Fermanagh, I was initiated into the ways of Irish railways. The house I was staying in was two miles from the station, which, however, was visible across country from it. I was about to leave, when, looking out of the dining-room window, I saw the train arrive. I pointed this out to a gentleman standing by me, and he said, "Sure they'll loither the thrain for you," and sure enough I was in time.

The Rev^d William Ellis lived at Rose Hill, near Hoddesdon, Herts. He invited me to go there with my wife, to spend the day with him and Mrs Ellis. As we walked from the station to the house we passed a very large field of beans in full blossom, and, the day being fine and hot, the scent from them was exceedingly agreeable, and having been away from

England for some years, greatly impressed us. Mr Ellis had discovered the orchid *Angreum Sesquipedale*, in Madagascar, and had made a very fine collection of orchids in his greenhouse. Of them Mrs Ellis had made very beautiful paintings, from which artificial-flower makers came from London to take patterns.

I was in Hyde Park when the riots took place there, and observed the young trees near the Marble Arch, where the preaching takes place, being injured. Boys climbed to their tops, and, with their weight, bent them down like fishing-rods. The crowd then took hold of the tops and ran round with them, breaking the trees off. I came across Colonel Labalmondière, the Assistant Commissioner of Police, and told him of this; and he immediately sent some policemen to put a stop to it.

The gates at the Marble Arch were closed, and a number of policemen kept guard over them, but I saw one man deliberately climb up from the outside, and over the top of one of the side gates, who, of course, was received in the arms of the police on the inside. He was then sent off a prisoner in a cab, across the Park. That night I saw the iron railings of the Park, in Park Lane, thrown down. Numbers of men, in long rows, took hold of the rails, and, with a one, two, three, and a push together, brought them down with a run. I heard a police sergeant exclaim: "Why can't these Whitechapel people keep in their own part of London?" A charge of the police took place close to me in Park Lane, when batons were used, but the only sufferer from them was a lamppost near the end of Green Street.

While I was at home I visited the Colonial Office, and was interviewed by Sir Frederick Rogers (afterwards Lord Blachford). We sat together before the fire in his office, with our feet on the fender, and conversed in a very friendly manner, on affairs of Mauritius.

On the 18th Jan., 1867, I received a letter from the private secretary to Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, informing me that, at the end of the previous session of Parliament, an Act had been passed empowering the transfer to the Colonial Department, of the Straits Settlements; and that the 1st April was the date for bringing this transfer into operation. That a Governor had been appointed,

who would proceed there in the course of February. That under him there would be two Lieutenant-Governors, at Penang and Malacca respectively, and that he was desired by Lord Carnarvon to offer for my acceptance, the office of Lieutenant-Governor at Penang. He added that, in the whole range of Lieutenant-Governorships, he did not know of any which promised to be more interesting or more pleasant. He further stated that, to avoid the inconvenience of a sudden change of all the present staff, the officers at present administering Penang and Malacca would be allowed, by the Indian Government, to remain three months beyond the time of transfer; so that I should probably not be required to be at Penang much before the 1st July. These officers were supposed to supply the Lieutenant-Governors with information regarding the administration of their Settlements. So far as Penang was concerned, it was, I found on my arrival, a great mistake to have left the late Administrator in the Settlement, after I had taken over the charge of it.

In a later letter I received from the private secretary, he said, "Of course a Lt-Governor, especially at Penang, who will probably more than once be called to administer the Government of the Straits Settlements, must come very much into notice, promotion could only be offered him to an important Governorship," and I was led to understand that I should rank next to the Governor in the colony. These were the conditions under which I was offered and accepted the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Penang. Very shortly afterwards, Colonel Macpherson, who had been Resident Councillor of Singapore, and had become Colonial Secretary under the Colonial Government, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Straits Settlements, thus intervening between me and the administration of the Government in the absence of the Governor, and in contravention of one of the conditions held out to me when my appointment was offered to me. However, poor Colonel Macpherson died very shortly after his appointment, and I then received the dormant commission as Administrator of the colony.

I, accompanied by my wife and daughter, left London for Penang on the 9th May, and went out by P. and O. steamer from Marseilles. I received, on board the steamer just before

starting, a telegram informing me of the death of my uncle, the Dean of Chester.

On arrival, on the 8th June, at the Settlement of Penang, which consisted of Prince of Wales Island and Province Wellesley on the mainland, a card was brought to me in my cabin with "Henry Ellis, M.A." on it. I went on deck expecting to meet a Master of Arts, instead of which I found an officer in a naval uniform, whom I ascertained was the Master Attendant or Harbour Master. It had been raining a heavy tropical rain, concerning which I made a remark, to which he replied, "We like the rain, it keeps down the temperature." There was a story about Lord Wellesley's visit to Penang, about the commencement of the last century, that, on landing, he could not see what the country was like, his view being impeded by the number of cocked hats that were present, there being so many field officers in the garrison.

I received a note from Colonel Man, of the Madras Army, whom I was succeeding, inviting me, my wife and my daughter, to go to his house as his guests. He was allowed £600 a year, as an entertaining allowance, by the Indian Government, but I did not receive this allowance from the Colonial Government. We were put up most uncomfortably, and, as it seemed, grudgingly.

The Governor of the Colony, Sir Harry Ord, was in the Settlement on my arrival, but over on the opposite shore, visiting that portion of it on the mainland named (after a former Governor-General of India) Province Wellesley.

We were very thankful when, after a few days, the Governor returned to Singapore, and we were able to go to the Government House on the mountain. This had its disadvantages, for I had to go down every morning at six o'clock, breakfast on the plain, attend my office in the town, and return at 6 p.m. It was three miles up to the Government House from the foot of the mountain, and I had to be carried up and down in a chair by four coolies. From the foot of the mountain to the town, a distance of four miles, I drove in a gharry, drawn by a small pony from one of the islands to the south of Java, such as Timor, Sevu, Lombok, etc.

The day after my arrival in Penang, I went to the Government Offices. I found these to be in a long narrow one-storied

building, with a pandal, or verandah, projecting from below the eaves, and supported by wooden posts. This pandal extended the whole length of one side of the building, and also along the front of it in the main street, over what was the front of the Treasury Office. An open ditch ran under both the side and end of this pandal, up and down which the tide flowed and ebbed. When, some time after, I had this ditch, which was the full width of the verandah, about 5 feet, filled up and converted into a cemented pathway, it was looked upon as a dangerous innovation, that would be sure to cause some mischief.

I imagine the ditch along the building had been made originally to receive the rain water from the roof, before the pandal was added. The tide caused the lower part of the building to be damp. The ground floor of the offices contained a number of stone-paved stores, with iron-grated windows looking out under the pandal; and behind them was a wide, open stone-flagged passage way, with the doors of the stores opening into it. These stores, in the old days of the Indian Government, when, as a Company, trade was carried on, were used for storing anchors, chains and all heavy goods. One store, at the entrance to the building, had been converted into the Treasury Office, and another at the furthest end, close to the sea, had been converted into a Post Office. The first store on the left of the entrance, and opposite the Treasury, was the guard-room for the Treasury guard, from the Madras sepoy regiment stationed at the sepoy lines in the country, about two miles away.

My first feeling on entering the building was one of depression. I had to step down a deep stone step into a gloomy stone-paved passage, where the guard turned out to receive me. The passage was so low that some of the bayonets of the guard punctured the ceiling when their muskets were being brought to "the present."

When I had proceeded up the staircase, opposite the entrance, to the first floor, I found a broad landing with a suite of three rooms on the left, which were the offices of the Governor of the colony and his staff, when they visited the Settlement. On the right was my office, which opened again into a suite of offices over the stores below. The first of these

offices was occupied by my clerks, and then came the Land Office, the Survey Office, the Office of Imports and Exports, and the Harbour Master's Office. The Harbour Master was also Postmaster, and had the Post Office below his office. Along the back of these offices, and over the open passage way below, ran an empty corridor. This corridor and the passage below were used in the days of the old "John Company" (as the old Indian Government under the company of directors was called) for the accommodation of those who came to purchase the wares of the company. The soft and lighter goods were stored in these upper rooms.

I found myself to be *ex officio* Judge of the Supreme Court, and also President of the Municipal Commission. The first time I attended the meeting of the Municipal Commissioners (their office was a small detached building in the same compound with the Government offices) the late Resident Councillor, of his own accord, although no longer a member of the Commission, came also. Knowing how jealous he was, and wishing to make matters work smoothly between us, I offered him to take the chair. This he declined, but when I presently had occasion to give an opinion on some question, he suddenly jumped upright, sending his chair violently back, and walked out of the room. He was a man with a quick temper, and after he had left the Settlement, I heard from my official that, before going to see him on business in his office, they used to go to his chief clerk to ascertain what sort of temper he was in. I was also told that he would sometimes get very angry with his chief clerk, and rush at him, when the clerk would bolt, and run down the stairs, followed by a book thrown after him.

Penang, on my arrival, appeared to me a very forsaken place, and the customs of its inhabitants very antiquated; and the individuals forming the society of the place expressed their determination to adhere to their old customs, and not to admit of any change in them.

George Town, the capital, was in a very dirty and neglected state. The main street had never been macadamized, except in very small patches here and there, and the shopkeepers, mostly Chinese, occupied a considerable portion of each side of the street with their wares; besides blocking up a five-foot

path under cover of the front of their houses, which by law was intended for the use of the public.

There had been a bad feeling fermenting between two rival Chinese secret societies for some time before I arrived in the Settlement, and this feeling had increased during the last Mohurram festival, and led to constant assaults by individuals of the one party on those of the other. This had culminated in the murder of a Malay diamond merchant, a member of one of these societies. There were two societies among the Malays of the Settlement, named the Red Flag Society and the White Flag Society. These societies were originally of a religious character; but that character very soon ended, and they took to quarrelling and fighting with one another. The Red Flag Malays joined the Chinese Toh-Peh-Kong Society, and the White Flag Malays the Ghee Hin Secret Society.

About the beginning of July, a Toh-Peh-Kong Chinaman was looking through the palings bounding the premises of a White Flag Malay, when the Malay threw a rambustan (a Malay fruit) skin at the Chinaman, and called him a thief. The Chinaman went away, but returned with ten or twelve Toh-Peh-Kong friends. The Malay's friends then turned out, and a fight with stones and clubs took place. The Malays drove back the Chinese as far as their kongsee house, the meeting place or club of their hoey. A kongsee is a company; a hoey, a secret society. The stones thrown by the Malays then struck the Toh-Peh-Kong signboard; upon which the Toh-Peh-Kongs turned out in great number, and firearms were resorted to. The police interfered, and, for the moment, stopped the disturbance. After this, frequent assaults and murders were committed by both societies, and on the 1st August a false charge was made by the head man of the Toh-Peh-Kongs, that some White Flag Malays and Ghee Hins had stolen some cloth that, after being dyed, had been put out into the street to dry, by some Toh-Peh-Kong dyers. There is no doubt that this charge was made to bring about a "casus belli," for which the head man had made every preparation. On the 3rd August, the Toh-Peh-Kongs attacked the Ghee Hins, and thus commenced the great Riot of 1867.

The Ghee Hin Secret Society was formed in China some

centuries ago, for the purpose of overthrowing the Tartar rule and replacing the Ming dynasty upon the throne. This original object was practically lost sight of by the branch in Penang, whose only object had been to carry on amongst its members a Government of its own, as far as possible independent of the Government of the colony.

The rules of the society were obtained by the Commission appointed to inquire into the origin and causes of the riot, of which I drew up the report.

A Chinaman, in giving evidence before the Commission, thus described his initiation into the society. "A fowl's head was cut off, and I was told that whenever I was called by the society, I was to come immediately; when called on to subscribe, I was to do so; when there was a funeral, I was to attend, if called; if called to a marriage, I was to go; if called on at any time assistance was required, or to go and fight, I must go at once; and that if I did not obey these rules, I should meet with the fate of the decapitated fowl then before me." Another witness added the following regulations: "One member assaulted by another member must bring his complaint before the headman, and not before the police: if he complained to the police he would be punished. Should a member commit robbery, arson, or murder, the chiefs are bound to assist him in escaping from justice; and a chief would be punished if he refused assistance. A criminal, assisted by the society to escape, has his passage paid, and a sum of money given him to make a new start in life."

The members of this society were bound by an oath, which was rendered more binding in their estimation by the ceremony of drinking one another's blood. The blood was extracted from the forefinger, and mixed with spirits and water in a bowl, from which all the new members drank.

The punishments awarded by the chiefs of the Society to its offending members were excommunication, flogging, cutting off the ears, and beheading; but the witness who made this statement added: "but these are never done in this country." Another witness had been present when a member received thirty-six blows with a stick, 3 feet long and 1 inch in diameter. There was also evidence of a member being flogged for refusal to call members together when ordered to do so. Although

the witnessess stated that the severer punishments, of cutting off the ears and death, were not carried out in the Settlement, the Commissioners came to the conclusion that the penalties had sometimes been enforced. The Toh-Peh-Kong Hoey had been instituted in Penang about twenty years previously. It had been founded by men from the Ho-Kien province of China, who had always been antagonistic to those from the province of Canton, who formed the greater part of the Ghee Hin Society. The rules of the Toh-Peh-Kong Society were similar to those of the Ghee Hin.

When the riots broke out, the Toh-Peh-Kong Society made regulations for the pensioning of any of its members who might be injured, or the families of members who might be killed, transported, or imprisoned by the Government of the Colony. This Society had among its members most of the wealthy shopkeepers in the principal street in George Town, and included also the manufacturers and sellers of firearms and ammunition ; and these were bound, in times of disturbance, to supply the members with firearms ; and it was in this manner that so many of the Toh-Peh-Kongs were armed during the riots.

Having no house below, on the plain, when the riots broke out, I was still living at the Government bungalow on the mountain ; and looking down, I saw small parties of Toh-Peh-Kongs, armed with muskets, going about on the plain, and setting fire to the huts of the Ghee Hins. There was a party of some fifty Indian convicts on the mountain, employed in keeping the road up it in order, looking after the garden of the Government bungalow, fetching water for the bungalow, working the semaphore at the signal station, etc. I started off, down to the plain, escorted by a large party of these convicts, armed with sticks ; and at the foot of the mountain got into my gharry, which I had telegraphed for by semaphore, with one convict on the back of it, one on each side step, and the rest running by the sides of it.

Just before leaving England I had read the whole account of Governor Eyre's riots in Jamaica, and having no one on whose advice I could rely, and having had no time to make myself acquainted with the customs and habits of the natives, I felt doubtful and somewhat nervous in regard to the measures I

should take. Added to my difficulties was the fact that the battery of artillery had just left for Rangoon, and its relief had not arrived ; and the greater part of the Madras sepoy regiment had been sent, with two men-of-war, to the Nicobar Islands, where a white woman, the widow of the captain of a vessel that had been wrecked there, was said to be held in "durance vile" by the chief of those islands.

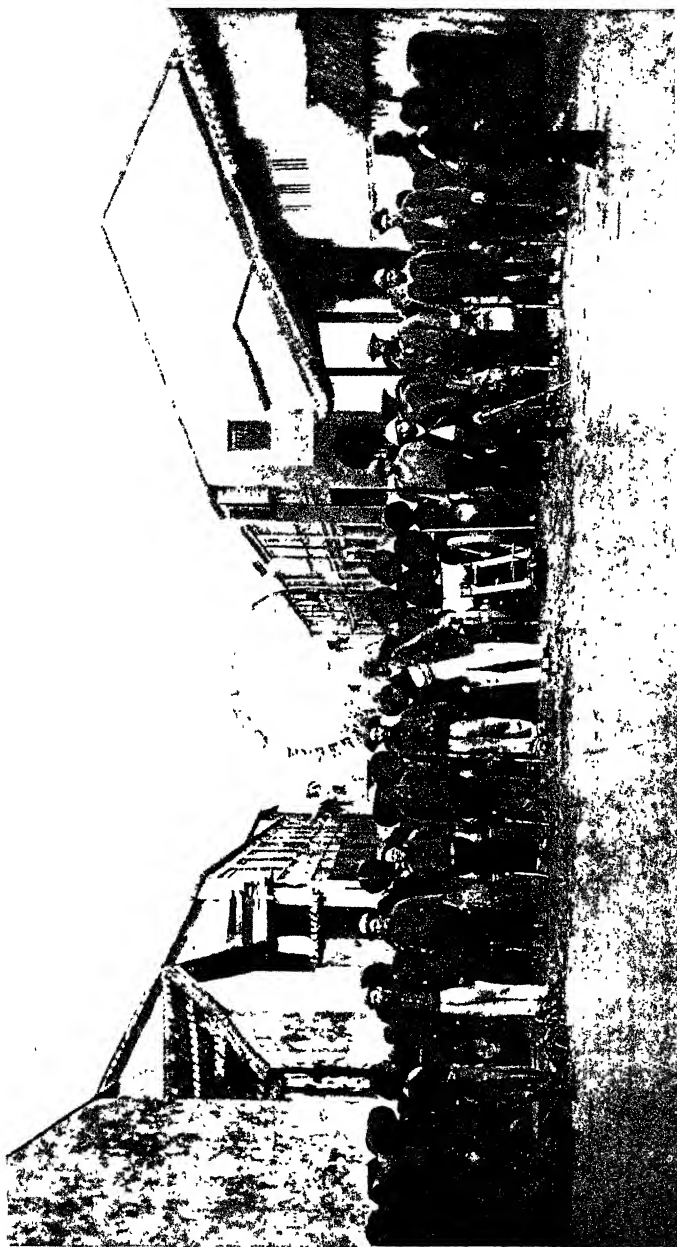
At 8 o'clock, I erected a barricade in one of the streets of the town, and placed an armed police guard over it, to check one of the contending parties from making sallies upon the other, in that neighbourhood. This barricade I formed of carts, timber, and anything available I found at hand.

The following day I erected barricades of chevaux-de-frise, and of large blocks of firewood, in the main street, over which guards of sepoys and special constables, were placed. Every available European, and some Eurasians, were sworn as special constables. I spent most of my time in a gharry going about the town, where firing was going on ; and shot from muskets and small petards was flying about in all directions. Many of the English ladies took refuge in the Fort, some of them coming in from the country saw headless Chinamen lying in the road. The magistrate was good enough to give me a "shakedown" at his house, during the few hours of the night I could give to sleep. Junks, flying their party flags, were constantly arriving from Junk-Ceylon, and other native states to the north of the Malay Peninsula. I sent the smaller Government steamer, the *Rainbow*, which had originally been supplied by Miss Burdett Coutts to Rajah Brooke of Sarawak, and had these junks brought to anchor under the guns of the Fort, and the crews brought into the Fort. But the number of these crews, all belonging to the Ghee Hin Society, became so considerable, more than could be looked after, that I had to turn them out. Rumours were brought to me that the Chinese threatened to blow up the Civil Powder Magazine ; then, that they purposed to attack some public building, and so on ; and this necessitated parties of armed volunteers being sent off to guard these places. My head, too, became addled with the names of people and places that were continually being brought before me. These were Chinese names, Malay names, Mohammedan names, Hindoo names, etc. I had also at the

time a correspondence to carry on with the Sultan of Achin, at the north of Sumatra, about a large vessel, named *The Spirit of the Deep*, which, with a very valuable cargo of tin, had been wrecked on his coast; and here again I had to deal with a number of strange titles, names, and places.

When I arrived at my office a day or two after the riots had commenced, the sepoy guard there turned out, and when dismissed turned to me and petitioned for some food. They said they had had nothing to eat. I thought this very extraordinary, but gave them all the money (some small silver coins) I happened to have in my pocket. It appeared that as so many men were away, and the rest employed at the barricades, they could not be relieved. The colonel came and told me that the men at the barricades had no food, and that if they were to remain there I must arrange for their being fed. I remarked that they could easily get food from the Ghee Hin shopmen, who in fact, as they were protecting them in the main street from being attacked by the Toh-Peh-Kongs, would be only too glad to give them food without charge. But to this he replied that they, as Hindoos, would not touch food from the hands of a Chinaman. I asked what, under the circumstances, he would suggest; and he then said that it would be necessary to provide them with mutton or chickens. As I could not dispense with the services of these men, I had to authorize rations of mutton, which was very scarce and expensive, to be issued to them. On another occasion, later, all the head men of the two societies were brought to my office under a sepoy escort. When the escort was accompanying them down the staircase on leaving me, the sepoys tucked their muskets under their arms and felt their way down the stairs with their hands against the wall, because they were so giddy for want of food. When I mentioned this some months afterwards to the colonel of the regiment that relieved this one, he said this was all wrong, and should never have been allowed by the officer in command. I had had no previous experience of Indian troops.

These riots lasted ten days, then I at last got the head men to agree to put a stop to them, and each society to pay a voluntary penalty of five thousand dollars (equal to about



STREET BARRICADE DURING THE PENANG RIOTS.

[Facing p. 282.]

£1060), the dollar at that time being equal to four shillings and threepence.

A great many houses had been burnt down in both the town and country. I had then to make arrangements for sending 1000 Ghee Hins across to the mainland from the south of the island, as they were afraid to pass up to the town through the Toh-Peh-Kong villages situated on the road.

On the tenth day of the riots the Governor of the Straits Settlements arrived in one of the Government steamers from Singapore, with some of the sepoy regiment stationed there on board; and on the same day the two men-of-war, the *Satellite* and the *Wasp*, under Captains Edye and Bedingfeld, returned with the two companies of sepoy and the party of armed police. They had found that there had been a white woman at the Nicobars, and that after a time she had been taken into the jungle and killed. They had brought the Chief of the islands with them. He was sent to Singapore, whence, later, he was being sent back in one of the men-of-war, when he jumped overboard and was drowned.

The Nicobar Islands, to which the Danes had many years before made some claim, were then handed over to the Indian Government, and have since been united with the Government of the Andaman Islands. The telegraph from Madras to Penang, en route to China, now passes between the Nicobar Islands.

I was successful in obtaining the voluntary penalty of 10,000 dollars which I had imposed on the two Chinese societies. With this money I built four police stations, capable of being defended, in those parts of the town which were most likely to be centres of disturbance.

I have alluded to the case of the ship wrecked off the coast of Achin; but that was far from being the only matter that had to occupy my attention there. At that time the trade between Penang and Achin was greatly interfered with by the exactions of the rajahs and petty chiefs on that coast, and complaints were continually being made to me by traders and other persons resident at Penang of ill-treatment by them when visiting the ports on the north of Sumatra. Remonstrances to the Sultan of Achin met with procrastination, and were of little avail, as the Sultan had at the time

little or no control over the lesser chiefs, each of whom acted almost, if not entirely, independently of him. They were continually declaring a blockade of their respective ports, and seizing the vessels of Penang traders, on the plea of a breach of blockade. It was only later on that the invasion of Achin by the Dutch, who blockaded the coast with eleven men-of-war, caused all the chiefs to unite in a common cause to defend their country with religious fanaticism against the Hollanders, or "Orang Wolanda," as they called them.

Before the war with the Dutch broke out several of the Achinese head men came over to Penang. Amongst these were the chief admiral, Imaum long Bata; the chief minister, Tungku Kali Malik'ul'adil; and Panglima Tibang Mahomed. This last named came at my invitation to the ball given when the Duke of Edinburgh visited Penang, and on behalf of his Sultan he presented the Duke with a handsome kriss (Malay dagger). All these men were on very friendly terms with me. I have their photographs. I sent them back to Achin in our Government steamer. After the war had broken out the principal Achinese in Penang repeatedly said to me, "If you [meaning the British Government] will take over our country, we will give it to you; but we will never give in to the 'Orang Wolanda' people."

The anxiety, knocking about during the riots, and other worries in the heat of the climate, upset my health, and I placed myself in the hands of Dr King, the medical officer of the Settlement, who was one of the Indian Medical Staff; and he ordered me to take one grain of opium twice a day. To this I demurred, telling him that I had taken opium in the Crimea, and the effect had been very unpleasant. He said, "Never mind that, it is *the* medicine for this climate. If it makes you feel uncomfortable, take a little brandy and water, and that will set you right. Go to the convict gaol every week and get weighed, and let me know your weight." That was the only place where I could get weighed. He added, "Don't take more than one grain at a time, as more might not agree with you, and don't take less, as it would not be sufficient." I adopted his recommendation, from which I received immense benefit, and instead of its injuring my digestion, as I had anticipated, it greatly improved it. When



CHOTA-HAZRI AT THE COTTAGE, PENANG.



GROUP OF ACHINESE HEADMEN, INCLUDING THE CHIEF MINISTER
(2ND FROM LEFT).

[Facing p. 234.]

our newly appointed Colonial Chaplain, Mr Moreton, arrived from Labuan, where he had been employed as Chaplain, and where he had suffered a good deal from fever, I recommended this treatment to him, and he also received great benefit from it. When Doctor King retired from the Madras Army he set up in practice at Brighton.

There was residing at Penang a Mr Ibbetson, who had been Governor of the Straits Settlements from 1827 to 1834. In 1805, at the age of sixteen, he had been taken by his father to the East India Company's office in London, when his father went to thank the Directors for giving the son a cadetship at Penang. On arrival at the Company's office, while his father was taken to interview the Directors, he was left in a room occupied by two clerks. One of these clerks was standing before the fire when the other came, and with a kick sent him away. The one who was removed from the fire in so undignified a manner was Mr Raffles, who became the celebrated Sir Stamford Raffles. Shortly afterwards Mr Ibbetson embarked on board a vessel for India, and found Mr Raffles and his wife fellow passengers. Mrs Raffles was the widow of a Doctor Fancourt, of Madras. Mr Ibbetson told me that the facts connected with the appointment of Mr Raffles as they were generally reported were correct, and he had every opportunity of being acquainted with them.

At the time when Mr Ibbetson went to Penang, the officials were allowed to trade. He bought a nutmeg plantation, and when he retired to England he had property worth £10,000 a year, nutmegs fetching at that time a very high price. On the strength of this, he settled £10,000 on each of his married daughters. Unfortunately the price of nutmegs suddenly fell from about nine shillings to about ninepence a pound, and at the same time a disease attacked and destroyed the nutmeg trees, and Mr Ibbetson had therefore to return to Penang to look after his property, which he converted into a cocoa plantation, which produced but a moderate income. He remained there until he was over eighty years of age, when he again returned to England, where he died at the age of ninety. He dined with me every Saturday before he went home. Government business seems to have been performed in a very slovenly manner at the time he was Governor. I

found it impossible to discover in the Land Office the true situation of many properties in the island, the description of them being only, "bounded on the north by jungle, on the south by jungle, on the east by jungle, and on the west by jungle." Since that time these properties had been divided and subdivided by their owners, and their situations and titles were in a hopeless state of confusion. When under the new Colonial Government an Auditor-General was appointed, Mr Ibbetson said to me, "Bless me, what do you want an Auditor-General for? We never audited the accounts." Even later under the Indian Government, up to the time of the transfer to the Colonial Government, there had been no proper audit of the Government accounts. I was told "General Sir Orfeur Cavanagh [the last Governor under the Indian Government] used to put his glasses on his nose and just look them over."

The Tuanku Muntri, or, as he was called, the Rajah of Larut, a district in the native state of Perak, called upon me shortly after my arrival at Penang, and in conversation with him I asked whether the elephants of the Malay Peninsula were of the Indian or the African type. He said, "I do not know, I will send you one." I took this as merely a native's complimentary expression of good will, and thought no more about it; but some time after I was told that an elephant had been landed for me at the jetty, and I found that the Rajah had sent me a young one. As I could not receive presents, I handed it over to the Government, and for many years it was employed in working the pug-mill for making bricks in the Government brickyard. The hairs of the elephant, which are about the thickness of large violin strings, are considered charms among some of the natives, and this animal's mahout, an Indian ticket-of-leave convict, pulled out one of its hairs. This it resented, and turning round at him ripped him with his tusk and killed him. Some years after, when this animal had attained its full growth, it was reported to me by the Colonial Engineer that a couple of bullocks would do the work of the pug-mill more satisfactorily and at less expense than this elephant, so I ordered it to be sold and the money obtained to be paid into the Government Treasury. It was sold to Jamrack, the great dealer in animals, in Thames street. It was accordingly taken alongside a Liverpool steamer, of Holt's line,

but the hatchway was not large enough for it to be passed into the hold. On the next occasion when it was about to be shipped I happened to be down on the shore, and there I saw a tongkong (a large lighter) tilted on its side, with planks from bow and stern sloping down to the beach. The animal was between these two planks with ropes all about it, and a row of coolies on each plank hauling it towards the boat. Presently it placed its trunk under one of these planks and turned it over, upsetting all the men into the water; and this was the last I saw of it.

The relations between the Government and that of the native state of Perak, in the Malay Peninsula, had for many years been very unsatisfactory; and on my arrival at Penang complaints were continually being made to me by native British subjects (mostly Chinese), who resorted to that state on business or for trade, of the ill-treatment they received from the chiefs and head men; and there were many outstanding complaints of this nature still unsettled. The island of Pankor, near the mouth of the Perak river, and about 90 miles south of Penang, which had been ceded to the Indian Government in 1826, had recently been occupied by three Malays, to whom permits to occupy and clear land to the extent of 400 acres had been given, and a small population, many of whom were escaped slaves from Perak, had sprung up there. There was also some question regarding a portion of the mainland of Perak opposite Pankor, having also been ceded to the Government of India. The words of the treaty included the following:—

“The Sultan, who governs the whole of the Perak country and its dependencies, has, this day, given over and ceded to the Honorable East India Company of England, to be under its Government, henceforth and for ever, the Pulo Dinding and the island of Pankor, together with all and every one of the islands which belonged of old, and until this period, to the Kings of Perak, and which have been hitherto included in the Perak state, because the said islands afford safe abodes to the pirates and robbers who plunder and molest traders on the coast, and the inhabitants on the mainland, and effectually deprive them of the means of seeking subsistence; and as the Kings of Perak have not the power or means, singly, to drive away those pirates.”

Shortly after my arrival at Penang, Sultan Ali, the then ruler of Perak, sent his Luxamana, or High Admiral, to me, with full powers to settle all questions in dispute between the two Governments: such as the boundaries between Perak and Patani, and Selangor, etc. These questions were in a fair way of being amicably settled between us, when Sir Harry Ord, the Governor of the Straits Settlements, made a sudden and unexpected visit up the Perak river, and endeavoured hurriedly to make a settlement of them with the Sultan on the spot. Now questions could not be settled with Malays in an offhand manner. They were suspicious, and required time to consider them. The consequence was that they declined to come to any agreement. Almost immediately after that stringent directions came from the Home Government to stop all further negotiations, and this put an end for the time being to all interference on our part in the affairs of the Malay native states.

Among my other duties, I found myself a judge of the Supreme Court of the Settlement, and soon after my arrival Sir Benson Maxwell, the Chief Justice of the Colony, resident at Singapore, went home on leave, and Sir William Hackett, the Judge of Penang, left to take over Benson's duty, and I had, in consequence, to take over the charge of the Supreme Court at Penang. This was in accordance with an old arrangement under the Indian Administration of the colony. It not only interfered with my regular Government work, but, as I had received no legal education, was a duty which I was not well qualified to perform, and one I found very irksome. However, by an Ordinance passed shortly afterwards I was relieved of this duty. Much jealousy existed on the part of the judges of the Supreme Court towards the new Government of the colony.

Under the Indian Administration, at which time both the judges had been appointed by the Home Government, they had received their commissions under the Great Seal, and were to a great extent independent of the Supreme Government of India; but after the transfer to the Colonial Government they became subject to the local Government in executive matters, and this they resented. So far did they carry their ill-feeling, that when Sir Benson Maxwell came to my

Settlement he tried to ignore me altogether, although I at that time was ex officio a judge of the Court myself, holding my commission from the Governor of the Colony. Sir Benson Maxwell had been one of the three Commissioners sent to the Crimea to inquire into the mistakes that had been said to be made during the war, and on his return he published a pamphlet, headed, "Whom shall we hang?" When he was afterwards appointed the Judge of Penang, a notice of his appointment appeared in *Punch*, thus: "Whom shall we hang has gone to Penang."

The Government House, or Government bungalow as it was called, on the mountain, consisted of two bungalows joined by a corridor, 168 feet long, from which there was a magnificent and extended view, north and south, for a distance of about 90 miles of sea, with islands dotted about. The view to the west was across the strait dividing the island from the peninsula opposite; and then across the peninsula to the mountains forming its backbone. To the east was the jungle, which came close up to the bungalow on that side; and in which monkeys frequently sat on the trees, within sight of us, when we were playing at billiards in the corridor.

I found the garden and grounds in a very neglected state, but, with the aid of the Indian convicts employed there for the upkeep of the grounds and the road up from the plain, made great improvements. There was in the garden, opposite one end of the bungalow, a monument. This had been erected, by the aide-de-camp of a former Indian Governor, in memory of a dog that had belonged to the Governor's daughter. It appeared that the officer was engaged to the young lady, and sent to Calcutta for the stone urn which was on the top of it. The pillar on which the urn rested was square, and about 3 feet high, and had a poetical inscription, covered with glass, let into the front of it. The engagement between the young lady and the officer was broken off, and then he sent her the bill for the urn.

There was a signal station close to the bungalow, at one end of it, which signalled the arrival of vessels, and, by means of an old-fashioned telegraph worked by shutters (afterwards replaced by an electric telegraph), communicated with Fort Cornwallis, on the seashore, at the town. This telegraph, and

the convicts, were in charge of an English pensioner from the Madras artillery. His name was O'Neill; and when I was at Singapore, I one day received a telegraphic message which, being badly copied, purported to come from "One ill," and I was greatly puzzled for some time to make out from whom it was sent.

I worked in the garden with the convicts, and when they saw me work, they worked with a will and with great interest.

The Bishop of Labuan, who was also Bishop of the Straits, used to come to stay with me at the Government bungalow, and on one occasion he told me that he always prayed that he might die a sudden death. Poor man, after he retired and went to live in London, he became completely paralysed, and all his limbs entirely rigid; and so he remained for over ten years before he died. When I went to visit him in London, he could speak only in a whisper; and it was a great effort to him to do so. His man-servant used to urge him to speak, by saying repeatedly, "Come, come, my lord, now you must speak." I found it so painful to see him, that each time I left, I thought I should hardly be able to make up my mind to visit him again.

The Roman Catholic Bishop, who was Bishop of Melanesia, was also an occasional guest of mine. He was a French missionary, and had been absent from France, and in Penang, for forty years. He told me that on leaving France, he had knelt down on the shore, and vowed he would never return to his native country, but devote himself to his work abroad. He also said to me, "Once I died, and was laid out, and my friends came round me, and I heard them saying, 'He was a good old man,' and making other remarks concerning me, but I could make no sign; but I thought, 'I will disappoint them yet,' and I did, for I came round again, and recovered."

In 1869, Dr Stoliczka, Hon. Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Palaeontologist of the Geological Survey of India, came to Penang, and I accommodated him with some men to accompany him in his researches in the Settlement. He afterwards read before the Society in Calcutta the observations he had made "on some Indian and Malayan Amphibia, Reptilia, etc.," of which he sent me a copy, which had been printed in Part II., 1870, Vol. 39, of the *Journal*

of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and in which appeared the following :

"Ansonia, n. Gen. Body slender, rather depressed, uniform in width; sacral vertebra much dilated; muzzle short, obtuse, limbs long and slender; fingers four, long smooth, free and peculiarly cylindrical; toes five, not much developed, half webbed, disks of fingers and toes slightly swollen, rounded . . . I have associated with this form, the name of my esteemed friend, the present Lt-Governor of Penang, who has shown the greatest interest in my natural history researches during my short stay on the Island." Then attention is called to "*Ansonia Penangensis*, n. sp. Pl. IX, Fig. 4."

Having read the above, I was curious to know what I was honoured by having my name attached to. On looking up the number on the plate referred to, I found the likeness of a frog standing on its hind legs with its knees bent outwards, its toes ditto, and its arms bent at the elbows, and pointing upwards with all its fingers extended. I felt proud of my namesake, as may be imagined.

About this time H.M. Surveying Vessel *Serpent*, Captain Bullock, came to Penang. Captain Bullock had been at school with me at Mr Miller's, but instead of going up to the R.M. Academy he entered the Navy, but, being too old to do so in the usual way, did so through the old grade of Master. My cousin, Charles Anson, was the 1st Lieutenant on board, and he, Captain Bullock, and Commander Fitzroy (commanding H.M.S. *Avon*), came to stay with me at the Government House on the mountain. They all had to leave the following morning, as the officers of the *Serpent* were giving a ball on board in the evening. At night, after the ball, when the guests were leaving; one of them fell overboard; and an officer of the *Serpent* let go the lifebuoy, and went adrift on it for some considerable distance, and a boat, with my cousin in it, had to be lowered to go after it. When the boat returned, the quartermaster hailed it, and my cousin, after having answered him two or three times, became annoyed, and used rather strong language. On coming on deck he was placed under arrest for answering the deck improperly. However, through the intervention of Commander Fitzroy, he was released before the ship sailed the following day.

The *Serpent* took the deep sea soundings (1300 miles) between Penang and Ceylon; and my cousin sent me a chart of the soundings, showing all the depths taken, etc.

Captain Fitzroy had married a daughter of Cluny MacPherson; and talked a great deal to me about his wife and father-in-law; and told me the latter was building him a house at Cluny.

On the 10th Dec., 1870, the Duke of Edinburgh came to Penang in H.M.S. *Galatea*, and I went on board to receive him. I hired a newly-built house, belonging to a Chinese gentleman, whose grandfather had accompanied Sir Stamford Raffles to Singapore, when he went there, in 1819, to take possession of that island. The house had not been occupied. It has since been named "Edinburgh House." The streets through which the Duke was to pass in procession were decorated with arches, etc. The arch at the entrance to the town was erected by the spirit farmer, and he came to me and asked me to, as he expressed it, "give him some good 'wor-dees' to put over it." I suggested "God bless the Duke, may he ever enjoy good spirits," and this was adopted, and caused some amusement. I have a photograph of the erection.

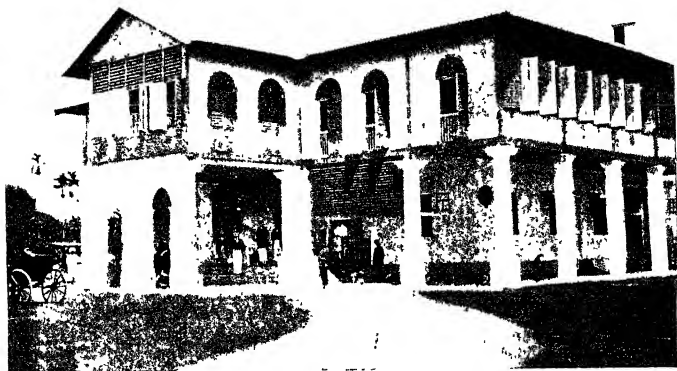
The Duke dined with me the next day, 11th, and lunched with me the day after. I have a pleasant recollection of his visit, as he behaved in a very kind way to me; when the Governor of the colony, who came up from Singapore at the same time, acted in a very different manner towards me, on the occasion of the dinner.

A lively young lieutenant of the *Galatea*, who became a distinguished admiral (Lord Charles Beresford), called on me the day after the dinner party, and told me that the night before, he had been wandering about, and seeing a house lighted up, had entered it to see what was going on; but going up the stairs had observed the Duke's cap, and, he said, "Didn't I bolt."

When I was lunching with the Duke in London some months afterwards, he said to me that he had told Beresford if he got into trouble again he would have nothing more to do with him. The Duke also referred to the incorrect manner in which the Governor had behaved to me on the occasion of my dinner party at Penang.



ARCH ERECTED IN PENANG IN HONOUR OF THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH.



HOUSE OCCUPIED BY THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH AT PENANG.

[Facing p. 292.]

I had asked the Sultan of Kedah to send me some specimens of the wild animals of the Malay Peninsular to show the Duke, and he very kindly sent me two large Sumatran tapirs, two leopards, and a black panther. They had been recently caught, and were very savage, especially the panther, which was a very large one. One of the tapirs had a young one; and one of the leopards had two young ones born in its cage. The young leopards were quite black, and looked like Newfoundland puppies. They were very shy, and when brought down to my house every morning, they slunk away, and hid in some dark corner. They were both accidentally killed by the mother, when playing with them, by forcing them against the iron bars of her cage.

One of the tapirs died, and after it had been buried some time, I had the bones dug up and sent home to my cousin, Sir Victor Brooke, who had the skeleton set up by Ward, and placed in his museum at Colebrooke, Co. Fermanagh. When I took the Duke of Edinburgh to see these animals, Sir Harry Ord accompanied us, and foolishly worried one of the leopards with his umbrella, until it suddenly threw out its paw beyond the bars of its cage, and caught its claws in Sir Harry's fingers, just above the nails. The Duke turned to me and said, "Served him right," and I think Sir Harry overheard what he said. Luckily for Sir Harry he was not much hurt.

The Duke had a good day's snipe shooting in Province Wellesley, and bagged seventy couple. While at Penang he held a levee, and attended a ball given in his honour at the Court of Requests.

When the Duke was dining with me my Malay servant was puzzled why the Duke's servant, who had gold epaulets on, waited at table; when the Governor's aide-de-camp, who had no epaulets, sat at the table.

In May, 1870, H.M.S. *Slaney* was stationed at Penang. This gunboat was commanded by Lieutenant Elwyn, a nice young fellow. The last time I saw him was when, on board the Straits Government steamer, I was passing down the channel between the island of Penang and Province Wellesley, he met me in his vessel, which was heeled over towards me, and he acknowledged me from the deck. In less than a month

after, his vessel was wrecked on the Paracel Rocks, in the China Sea, and he and all but three of his crew were drowned.

In 1870, two large steamers, one ship rigged, and the other bark rigged, arrived at Penang, having on board the telegraph cable to be laid between Madras and Singapore. They were under the command of Captain Halpin, who had been the captain of the *Great Eastern*. One of these vessels got ashore in the harbour, just as I was starting in one of our Government steamers, so I gave it a tow off. I also gave assistance in laying the land line, from the place where the cable was landed, to the telegraph office in the town. Captain Halpin invited me, and my wife and daughter, to lunch on board the ship. The ship and the bark were anchored parallel to one another, at swinging distance. Both vessels were dressed for the occasion of my visit. The ship, with all her flags fore and aft; and the bark, in the American fashion, with her flags at the points of her yards. The crews manned the yards; and as I arrived near the bark, she commenced a salute, which was taken up by the ship as I neared her. The same ceremony was performed as I left, after lunch; with the addition that the telegraphists climbed up the ratlins and cheered. Captain Halpin presented me with a handsomely got-up mahogany box, with a plate-glass top, containing samples of the different cables, which were as follows: to be laid through the serf at Madras, twenty miles, with a diameter of $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches, with iron wires of $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch diameter, twisted round a core of seven small copper wires for conveying the electric current; 192 miles of intermediate cable of 1 inch diameter, twisted round by iron wires of $\frac{3}{8}$ inch diameter, to be joined to the above; and 1235 miles of main cable, of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, twisted round by iron wires of $\frac{3}{32}$ inch diameter; 336 miles of 1 inch cable, similar to the intermediate, to be laid between Penang and Singapore; and 51 miles for the shore ends at Penang and Singapore, of $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, twisted round by iron wires of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter. The whole length of cable on board the two vessels was 1834 miles. Besides the surrounding wires there was insulating material round the copper wires; and packing, of tarred hemp, etc., between that and the iron wires, and again outside those wires.

Mr Forde was the chief telegraph officer; and he sent me the first message from Madras, after the cable had been laid. He was a brother of Colonel Forde, Royal Artillery, who had been a cadet with me at Woolwich, and had received his commission at the same time that I had received mine. He happened to be stationed at Madras at the time the telegraph cable was laid. The telegram was as follows:—

“Lieut. Gov^r. Penang. Have much pleasure in informing you of the completion of the Cable to this place. Final splice completed, yesterday evening, about 10 miles from here. I wish you and Mrs and Miss Anson a happy new year. If you have any messages to send, the Superintendent at Penang will forward them on here free for you, either way. My brother thanks you for your kind message, and desires to be kindly remembered to you. Signed, H. E. Forde, Engineer to the ‘British Indian Extension Telegraph Company, Limited.’”

During the Franco-German War, a French gunboat arrived at Penang, from New Caledonia, en route to France. The captain called on me, and applied for permission to coal his vessel. I authorized a sufficient quantity of coal to be put on board to enable him to reach his next port, Pondicherry, in Ceylon. Shortly after he left me, the German consul came to me, in a great state of excitement, and complained that the authorizing of the coaling of the French man-of-war, would enable the captain to go to sea, and waylay a German vessel which was about to leave the harbour. The French captain came to take leave of me before sailing; and when I told him of the fears of the German consul, he laughed heartily; and said that his vessel was so rotten that his only thought and hope were to reach Pondicherry in safety. He also told me that before he left France, he stayed at Compiègne with the Emperor, and after breakfast, the morning he was to leave, when he was looking out of the window, the Emperor came and stood by him for some minutes, and then said, “You are going to New Caledonia?” On his assenting to this, the Emperor inquired, “Do you suffer much from sea-sickness?” No doubt many naval officers do suffer from the sea trouble, but still, it was rather a strange subject of conversation between an Emperor and one of his naval captains.

There was, in the small island of Jerajah, about nine miles south of the town, and about half a mile from the shore of the main island, a leper hospital, with about 120 to 130 Chinese and Indian patients in it. This I frequently visited. The patients kept pigs and fowls, for their own use, in the jungle at the back of the building. The only request I used to receive from the Chinese was for a larger allowance of opium. There was a resident Indian apothecary in charge, who was relieved at short intervals, and I never knew of one of them, or of any one else visiting the hospital, contracting the disease.

In November, 1870, a report was brought to me that a number of Indian coolies had been sent to the hospital in Province Wellesley, from an estate there, in a very bad condition. On going over to inquire into the matter, I found that a most disgraceful and disgusting state of things existed on the estate. I directed that all those coolies who were suffering, and requiring medical attendance, should be, at once, sent to the hospital. At this the owner jeered at me; and said I could not accommodate so many. However, I undertook to do so, and forty, including two women, were sent there. Many of these, including the two women, had the marks of flogging on their backs. One of the women so marked had her toes sloughing away. The acts of cruelty were too disgusting to describe. The owner of the estate, and his English overseer, were tried and imprisoned. The former, on his release from prison, died suddenly in bed.

There was a Roman Catholic Convent at Penang, dedicated to the Infant Jesus. It was a double establishment; one division being for the education (irrespective of their religion) of the daughters of the upper class of the inhabitants, and the other for the care and education of native waifs and strays. The Government, on the latter account, granted an annual allowance.

I, by invitation, attended the annual examinations of the upper class pupils; and also the annual sale for raising money for the poor children. On one of these latter occasions I met there two or three well-to-do Chinese merchants, so I said to the Lady Superior, "Why don't you show these gentlemen round the rooms of the children? I am sure they would give

you a good subscription." A little while after, I met her with these gentlemen, and I asked them what they thought of what they had seen; and they remarked that everything seemed very good. I then said to the one I knew best: "Now I think you ought to give a handsome present to the Convent." He gave a cheque for 400 dollars (£80).

Work was taken in for the poor girls to do, for the benefit of the funds of the Convent; and some garments were once sent there by a very tall and big lady, and the girls could hardly be made to believe that the sleeves were not intended for her legs, instead of for her arms.

It was customary for Chinese to apply to the Lady Superior to supply them with wives from the poor children. On occasion of such an application, the Lady Superior would bring before the applicant all the marriageable girls, and suggest his making his selection. But it generally ended in his leaving the selection to her. Of course she made inquiries, and satisfied herself that the man was respectable. In general these suitors made very good husbands. The nuns continued to take an interest in these wives, after their marriage, and saw that the children were properly brought up.

There were three convents in the colony, one at Singapore, one at Penang, and one at Malacca. When paying an official visit to that at Singapore, I found there a very agreeable American lady, who had been married, and, having lost her husband, retired into the convent. After visiting the rest of the building, when I came into the last room, this lady came up behind me and whispered into my ear, "This is the refectory, but no champagne is allowed here."

The Chinese of Penang were very liberal on many occasions. When I wanted to build a new Poorhouse, I had notices in Chinese issued to that effect; and was shortly after visited, in my office, by two Chinese merchants who asked me what the cost of the buildings would be. When, at a rough guess, I stated that it would be about 5000 dollars (about £1060), they immediately said they should have the pleasure of giving it to me. After I had had plans and estimates made for the work, I found that it would cost about 1000 dollars more (£212). I sent for these gentlemen and told them so; and asked them what their wishes were in the matter.

They replied, "Whatever you do is right, and we shall give you the amount."

On another occasion, when I wanted to add to the Free School buildings, a Chinese friend of mine came and said to me, "I don't think the last time the buildings were added to, I gave anything." I replied, "I think not." He then asked what the cost would be, and on my informing him, at once promised the amount of my rough estimate, about 400 dollars. When I obtained the plans and estimate, including desks, forms, etc., he at once, on my acquainting him that the cost would be greater, agreed to defray the whole of it. This same Chinese gentleman had, on a former occasion, presented candlesticks for the pulpit of the Protestant church. He was the owner of the house occupied by the Duke of Edinburgh on the occasion of the latter's visit to Penang; and I presented him with the bed that had been purchased for, and occupied by, the Duke.

A Chinese man-of-war, commanded by Captain Luxmore, R.N., with a Chinese admiral on board, came to Penang. I visited the ship, and found a very smart crew of young Chinese lads on board. Many of these lads had been educated at the Free School, Penang. The Chinese admiral informed me that he had heard a very good account of the Government of the Settlement from the Chinese residents.

CHAPTER XIV

SINGAPORE

(1871-1872)

On the 19th Feb., 1871, the Governor went to England on leave; and then, by virtue of my dormant commission, appointing me Administrator, I went to Singapore and assumed the Government of the Straits Settlements. Mr Arthur Birch of the Colonial Office was sent out to act as Lieutenant-Governor of Penang during my absence.

On my arrival at Singapore, I found there was a Chinese riot going on, which added considerably to the complications of the work which I had to take over. These riots, fortunately, did not become so serious as at first they threatened to be.

In addition to the riots, a visit from the King of Siam was anticipated, and he arrived on the 15th March. He came with three steamers, conveying himself and his sixty-six followers: his brother, his half-brother, the Kalahome, or Minister of War, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Commander of his Royal Bodyguard, his private secretary, the Keeper of his Privy Seal, the Superintendent of his Royal Pages, his Master of the Robes, the Superintendent of his Fleet, the Governor of Pakham (at the mouth of the Bangkok river), the Canal Master, attached to His Majesty's Court as Royal Navigator, his Master of the Ceremonies, the Master of his Attendants, his Master of the Foreign Department, his Superintending Engineer, his treasurer, his artist, his photographer, his royal page in attendance, a royal page, 24 royal bodyguards, 3 doctors, 2 scribes, 6 cooks, and 10 boys.

I accommodated, in Government House, the King, his two brothers, the Kalahome, his Foreign Minister, and his private secretary, who spoke English; and hired a

house for the rest of the party in the town. I had a temporary kitchen built for the King's use, near that of the Government House, which was detached some way from the house and connected with it by a covered way. I obtained a vote, from the Legislative Council, for the entertainment of the King and his party.

The King's steam yacht *Regent* anchored about 9 a.m. The Colonial Secretary, my private secretary, and Captain Lecky, 75th Regiment, whom I had appointed to attend on the King during his stay, went on board to meet His Majesty. The men-of-war in the Roads manned yards, dressed ship, and saluted. In the afternoon, accompanied by His Highness the Maharajah of Johore, I paid a private visit to the King.

The following day he landed in state at the pier at the esplanade, where, accompanied by all the civil Government officials and the naval and military officers, I received him. He then, accompanied by the Colonial Secretary, proceeded to the Town Hall, where he was presented with an address by the Chamber of Commerce and by the Chinese. After that he went to Government House, where he was received by me and my wife. In the afternoon he accompanied me and visited the Cathedral (where the organist played for him), the Raffles Institution, the hospital, and the gaol. In the evening, I entertained him at an official dinner at the Government House, at which sixty guests, including the Maharajah of Johore, the foreign Consuls, and the principal officials, with their wives, were present. The band of the regiment, and the King's band, were in attendance, and played outside the Government House.

The next morning, he visited the gas works and the telegraph office, from which he sent the following message to the Queen of England :

"We have arrived at Your Most Gracious Majesty's Colony of Singapore; the first time that a King of Siam has landed in an English country.

His Excellency the Administrator has received us with the highest honors, and made us most comfortable at Government House. We are delighted to see the country and people prospering so well under Your Gracious Majesty's rule.

We repeat our grateful thanks to your Majesty for your



CHULALONKORN, KING OF SIAM.

[Facing p. 300.]

friendly reception of us, and wish you long life, health, and prosperity in every respect."

He afterwards visited the house, where he saw the freezing machine at work, and the Police Court. In the afternoon he attended a flower show in the Botanical Gardens, where photographs of groups of those present were taken by his photographer, as well as by a local one.

A rather singular coincidence occurred in connection with the photograph taken by the latter.

My sister was travelling in Switzerland, and went into a cottage to see a poor woman, and when she was about to leave, the woman asked her to wait a moment, as she wished to show her a photograph she had lately received from her son. On looking at the photograph, my sister at once, pointing to a tall figure standing in the centre of the group, exclaimed, "Why, that's my brother."

In the evening the King was present at an amateur theatrical performance. The next day, being Sunday, the King breakfasted with the Siamese Consul; and in the afternoon visited the Honble Whampoa, the Chinese member of the Legislative Council, and was shown over that gentleman's charming grounds, which were laid out as depicted on a willow-pattern plate, with the summer house, the pond (full of gold fish), and the bridge over it. The house was also a curiosity, with its Chinese fittings and furnishings.

Whampoa himself was a very agreeable, friendly, and hospitable old man, greatly respected and liked, especially by naval officers. He was also famous for making polite English speeches to ladies.

On the Monday, the King visited Fort Canning in the morning, and saw the Royal Artillery at drill. In the afternoon he inspected H.M. 75th Regiment, and the 19th Madras native infantry; and in the evening was present with me at a ball given in his honour at the Town Hall. He visited the market, and the Tanjong Pagar docks the following morning, and was present at a garden party we gave at Government House, in the afternoon. The next day he drove about, and in the evening dined privately with me and my family. Throughout his visit he was a very pleasant and agreeable guest. Before

embarking on the 23rd, he presented me with the Order of Siam, which I was permitted to accept, but not to wear. It is a pretty Order, in green and red enamel, and set with small brilliants. He left for Batavia with the usual ceremonies and salutes, with the addition of a salute from a Portuguese man-of-war that had just arrived in the harbour.

The King wrote to me on the 18th of October as follows :

“Royal Private. Grand Palace Royal, Bangkok,
18th October, 1871.

EXCELLENCY,—We have appointed and commanded Phraya Samud Puramurak and Hluong Sallajudh Sarakanr Our Commissioners to present the Diploma of the Decoration of Honor called ‘Chula Sura Bhorn’ which we have conferred upon your Excellency to remember us. . . . While on our return to Bangkok we were informed that your Excellency had consented to the erecting a monument in commemoration of our visiting Singapore, a British Colony, first, at some place in the town. We were pleased and thank you. . . . We have had our artists cast a bronze statue of an Elephant to be erected on the Monument. Since our return to Bangkok we have been happy and well. But we often think of Mrs and Miss Anson who gave us many expressions of their love. We send herewith our photograph together with a golden sarong for Mrs Anson, and one for Miss Anson. Please accept them as mementos from us. Our brother Somdeh Chowfa Bhanuraugh Svang Wongse, sends a golden ox to Miss Anson. Also our brother Phraongsuk sends a case of gold and silver flowers. We anticipate with pleasure the idea of meeting Mrs Anson and your Excellency, at Singapore or Penang again in December next. May the Great Supporter of the world assist and protect Mrs and Miss Anson and your Excellency, and grant you long continued prosperity and happiness.

Signed. CHULALONKORN, R.”

(This signature is in both Siamese and English characters.)

The golden ox and gold flowers, mentioned in the above letter, were only gilded trifles, from his boy brothers.

The elephant was erected on a pedestal in front of the Town Hall, at Singapore. It was intended to commemorate the first occasion of a King of Siam setting foot in a foreign country.

The Diploma, a curious document in both Siamese and English in parallel columns, is as follows :

“SOMDECH

PHA PARAMINDR MAHA CHULALONKORN

SUPREME KING OF SIAM,

Fifth Sovereign of the present Royal Dynasty which founded the City, Ratne Kosindr Ayuddhaya Bangkok, the great Capital of the Kingdom of Siam.

To all and singular to whom these presents shall come ;
Greeting.

Know Ye! That in the month of March A.D. 1871 We visited Singapore and His Excellency Archibald Edward Harbord Anson Lieut: Col Royal Artillery, Administrator of the Straits Settlements &c. &c. &c. having advised and made appropriate arrangements for Our honourable reception and entertainment, whereby We were enabled to visit the interesting places and objects while there in accordance with Our cordial friendly treaty relations with Her Majesty Victoria I Queen of Great Britain and Ireland &c. &c. We of Our Royal Will and Pleasure do hereby confer upon the said Archibald Edward Harbord Anson &c. &c. &c. Our high Decoration of Honor called ‘Chula Sura Bhorn’ to be worn in grateful remembrance of Us.

May the great Supporter of the whole world support prosper and confer upon the said A. E. H. Anson every prosperity and blessing.

Given at Our Hall of Audience Amarindr Winichchay Mahesuariy Biman, at the Royal Palace Capital City Ratne Kosindr Mahindr Ayuddhaya Bangkok on the 5th day of the waxing of the moon of the 12th month, year of the Goat 3rd of the decade, Siameses Astronomical Era 1233, corresponding to 18th day of October A.D 1871, being the 3rd year and 1062nd day of Our Reign.

(Manuregia) CHULALONKORN.”

The King's photograph, which, with the other things mentioned, was brought from Siam by special messenger, was a large-sized likeness, by his photographer, and was in a handsome frame, of two coloured woods, made in Bangkok ; with a large Royal coat of arms of Siam, in gilded metal, on the top. The late King, the father of Chulalonkorn, had studied, and had some knowledge of, astronomy.

It had been customary in Siam, for any one approaching the King, to go down flat on the ground in front of him, but those who had accompanied him to Singapore had been

directed not to perform this ceremony, and it was amusing to see the contortions they made, at first, when coming to speak to him, before they had quite got over their old habit.

Some years after, when the King lost one of his brothers, he wrote to me the following letter,

"The Grand Palace, Bangkok,
20th May, 1879.

MY DEAR COLONEL ANSON,

I am sure you will be very sorry to learn that my dear brother Prince Kaphia Kranockratne died of fever, on the 17th inst. He had been for a long time in command of my Body Guard, and was my principal Aide de Camp.

You knew his Royal Highness but you can have no idea how deeply I feel his loss. He took so much pains with his work, and was so clever, quick, and full of tact, that I miss him exceedingly.

Your faithful friend,
CHULALONKORN, R.S."

On the 13th May I opened the session of the Legislative Council, and the subjects which I laid before it were:—

The amendment of the Penal Code.

The reorganization of the police.

The alteration of the Municipal Act.

The proposed light house on the North Sands.

The subsidiary silver coinage.

The railway to connect the wharves at Tanjong Pagar and New Harbour with the town.

Education.

Pauperism.

The water supply to the town of Singapore.

The amendment of the Preservation of the Peace Ordinance of 1870.

The amendment of the Excise Ordinance of 1870.

The amendment of the Indian Act No. 14 of 1839. (The Straits Land Act.)

The amendment of the Gaming Houses Ordinance of 1870.

The granting of exclusive privileges to inventors.

The amendment of the Poisons Ordinance.

The amendment of the Contagious Diseases Ordinance.

In connection with the Penal Code, I communicated with

the Government of India to ascertain whether, since the last amendment of the Penal Code was passed in that country, any further improvements to the Code had suggested themselves to either the judges or the Law Officers of the Government.

At the beginning of June, 1871, I received a telegram from Admiral Dupré, Governor of Cochin-China, informing me of the completion of the telegraph cable to that French colony; and, on the 8th, I received a letter from him in which he said:

“C'est avec un vif sentiment de satisfaction que j'ai appris par la bouche du President de la commission que j'avais envoyé à Singapoor pour traiter de l'attérissement en Cochin-China du cable télégraphique sous marin de Singapoor à Hong Kong la courtoisie avec laquelle vous l'aviez accueilli ainsi que les personnes qui l'accompagnaient.

Ce n'est pas seulement pour moi une marque de sympathie personnelle, c'est la preuve de l'union qui se resserre entre nos deux pays mais dont je suis heureux et que j'espère ne voir jamais cesser.

Soyez assez bon pour être l'interprète de mes sentiments de gratitude auprès des hautes autorités qui vous entourent. Leur aimabilité, les relations particulièrement agréables qu'elles ont eues avec les membres de la commission leur laissent un souvenir ineffaçable.

J'ai reçu les objets, les cartes, les ouvrages que Votre Excellence a eu l'obligeance de m'envoyer, ainsi que la photographie de l'hotel du Gouvernement et l'état apprécié de son mobilier, je compte y penser d'utiles renseignements. Comme mon plus vif désir est de continuer les relations de bon voisinage dont vous venez de me donner l'exemple je fais réunir pour vous envoyer les documents relatifs à l'administration de la Colonie que je suppose de nature à vous intéresser, &c. &c. &c.”

Admiral Dupré was the person referred to earlier as the head of the French mission to Madagascar, and who had expressed to our Consul so much jealousy regarding me, when I was there, in 1862.

He had called at Government House, Singapore, on his way from France to Cochin-China, to pay an official visit to the Governor, and was rather surprised to find me there, acting in that capacity. However, I received him very cordially, and, smiling, we merely touched lightly on our previous acquaintance in Madagascar, and we became very good friends.

I afterwards invited him to come and pay me a visit at Singapore, but this invitation he expressed his regret he was unable to accept. He however promised to come and shake me by the hand, should I be at Singapore, when he should pass by it. He added :

“Je viens de recevoir par ‘United Service’ votre lettre officielle, et je vous remercie des sentiments de sympathie que vous exprimez pour nous [this was on account of the war with Germany]. Je cherche dans le travail des consolations au malheur qui accable notre Patrie, et les espérances que me donne notre jeune colonie ne contribuent pas peu à soutenir mon courage.”

On the 24th June, 1871, I received a report from the Acting Lieut-Governor of Penang, that a junk, owned by Chinese merchants, had sailed for a place in the neighbouring State of Perak, about a day and a half's sail from Penang; and, although more than eight days had elapsed, nothing had been heard of it. There were on board, including the crew and passengers, forty-nine persons. Information had reached the owners that some of the passengers who had been taken on board, just as the vessel was about to sail, were pirates, who had murdered the crew and their fellow passengers (numbering thirty-four men, women and children), and carried off the vessel. The junk was valued at 1500 dollars; and the cargo, including 3000 dollars in specie, at 7000 dollars. I directed the Colonial Government steamer *Pluto*, with a force of armed police on board, to proceed up the west coast of the Malay Peninsular, and, if necessary, the east coast of Sumatra, in search of the junk or tidings of it. The missing junk was found at Selangor, in the native state of that name; and the greater part of the cargo in the shops of that native town. The money, of course, was gone. The junk was seized, and nine of the pirates secured; but being threatened by the local rajah and his followers, and being fired on, the *Pluto* took the junk, with the prisoners, in tow to Penang.

On receipt of the above information by telegram from the Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Penang, I requested Captain Robinson of H.M.S. *Rinaldo* to proceed with his ship to Selangor, and endeavour to secure the remainder of the



ADMIRAL DUPRE.

[Facing p. 306.]

pirates, and, if possible, obtain possession of the stolen property. I also telegraphed, directing the *Pluto* to meet the *Rinaldo* at the Torch light-vessel, on the North Sands, 200 miles from Singapore, 160 miles from Penang, and about 30 miles south-west of the Selangor river. The *Rinaldo* and *Pluto*, having met, proceeded to, and anchored on 3rd July, near the bar of the Selangor river. Here Captain Robinson manned and armed his boats, and sent a party, with a field piece, ashore. The officers of the naval force that went in the *Rinaldo*, under command of Captain Robinson, were Lieut Stopford, Acting Lieut Maude, Sub-Lieut Williams, and Acting Sub-Lieut Ward. The party on landing was fired on by the enemy, and Lieut Maude (son of Colonel Maude, late R.H.A., Crown Equerry, and secretary to the Master of the Horse, Royal mews) was wounded by being cut on the wrist by a kriss. One leading seaman was mortally wounded; being shot through the lungs; the armourer was shot through both legs, and four other seaman were wounded. The following day the *Rinaldo* was fortunate in getting over the bar, and entering the river, and when about 400 yards from the forts a hot and well-directed fire was opened on the man-of-war, and in less than six minutes three men were wounded, and the vessel had suffered severely in hull and rigging. The *Rinaldo* soon returned the fire, and silenced the fort. The *Pluto* had gone to Penang with the wounded sailors, and Captain Robinson having intimated to me that he required the assistance of troops, I telegraphed to the Acting Lieutenant-Governor to send troops by the *Pluto* from Penang, and at the same time chartered a small light-draught steamer, and dispatched by it, from Singapore, the master attendant, an officer, 25 sepoy, and a medical officer, of the 19th Madras infantry, with three 12-pounder howitzers, to the assistance of Captain Robinson. The troops sent from Penang consisted of 1 lieutenant, 3 non-commissioned officers, 1 trumpeter, 17 gunners Royal Artillery; 2 native officers, 10 non-commissioned officers, 1 bugler, 100 privates 19th Madras native infantry; and 1 staff assistant surgeon; under the command of Lieut-Colonel Shortland of the Madras regiment. On the arrival and anchoring of the *Pluto*, the enemy commenced to fire from the fort, as was supposed, to obtain the range of their guns.

The following morning, under cover of the fire of the guns of *Rinaldo*, the troops and a detachment of sailors, under the same naval officers, landed and demolished the forts, and burnt the town. Five piratical prahus, of from 80 to 100 tons each, were also burnt. Three of these had a 24-pounder and one small gun in each. All had spears, muskets, and pistols on board. The following guns and ammunition were taken in the forts: fifteen 32-pounder iron guns on carriages, nine of various calibres on carriages, one 24-pounder and one other without carriages, one burst iron gun, one brass gun without carriage, and two swivel guns; 200 barrels, of 20 lbs. each, of gunpowder, of French manufacture.

According to the reports of the boatswain and the ship's carpenter, the *Rinaldo* had 25 injuries to her rigging, 6 injuries to her starboard side, and 5 to her port side; her main mast was splintered, her gig smashed beyond repair, a shot through her second cutter, her dinghy and first cutter badly shaken, and one other injury on deck.

On the 14th July, H.M.S. *Teaser*, Captain Blomfield, returned to Singapore, and I sent by him a letter to the Sultan of Selangor requesting him to appoint some person, in whom the Colonial Government could have confidence, to govern the district where the pirates had been living. I also requested Captain Blomfield to ascertain what had taken place since the *Rinaldo* had left, and to call upon the Sultan to have the remainder of the pirates arrested and given up to the Colonial Government.

The following is an extract from the report of Captain Blomfield on his mission.

"The object of my mission to the Sultan of Selangor was to convey a letter to him from His Excellency the Administrator, demanding that the remainder of the pirates who had murdered the thirty-two men, women, and children, on board a Chinese junk found in the Selangor river, should be given up to Her Majesty's Government, together with their aiders and abettors, Rajahs Mahmoud, Mahdie, and Syed Masahoor, also that a ruler in whom our Government could place implicit confidence should be appointed to govern the whole of the sea coast, and to put a stop to all further piracy. These demands were made with the *Teaser's* guns bearing upon the Sultan's palace, and an answer insisted upon within twenty-four hours.

With respect to the first of the three demands, the Sultan told us, what we afterwards found to be true, that the pirates had already been given up at Malacca, with the exception of one Chinaman, who had died, and whose queue was sent in proof of it. With respect to the second demand, the Sultan did not actually engage to deliver up the rebel Rajahs, it being probably entirely out of his power to do so; but he proclaimed them, in his reply to the Administrator, as pirates and outlaws, and called upon all his people to aid in their capture."

There was an immense amount of correspondence in connection with this piratical case. Besides the numerous reports to me from my own officials, and the captains of the men-of-war employed, there was correspondence as follows: Admiralty to Colonial Office, Colonial Office to War Office, etc. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, after expressing approval of the zeal and courage displayed by the officers, naval, military, and civil, who had taken part in the affair, proceeded to say—

"As far as I can judge, a serious mistake seems to have been made in sending the *Pluto* to enforce the surrender of the pirates, a service for which she was entirely unsuited. It would have been best, considering the notorious character of the Malays, that a ship of war should have been sent in the first instance . . . but if you were of opinion that it was necessary to take steps at once, without waiting for a ship of war, the *Pluto* should only have been sent to search for the junk, and if necessary make a formal demand for the delivery of the stolen cargo and offenders. On such a demand being refused, the Commander of the *Pluto* should have been directed to report the circumstances, and no attempt should have been made to compel compliance with the demand until it could be supported by an adequate force."

To this I replied :

"Your Lordship appears to be under the impression that I sent the Colonial steamer *Pluto* with a party of armed police to attack a stronghold of pirates known to exist at Selangor, and under that impression very justly blames me for having done so. The facts of the case were, however, as follows: I received a report of the capture of the junk and the murder of all the passengers on board by the hands of one of the owners, who had been sent down by the Act^s Lieut-Governor of Penang

to communicate personally with me on the subject. This Chinaman told me that on his way down the Straits, he had seen his junk sailing along inshore, but being too far off he could not see the hull, but knew the junk by the sails, one of them being new and white. I asked him where he thought the junk had gone, and he said either to the Dindings, or some place south of that, down the coast towards Malacca; or else to Delhi in Sumatra, or some place south on that coast. . . . I considered it almost certain that they would have taken the junk to some out-of-the-way place, up one of the rivers or creeks, and after securing the money and valuables, have abandoned, or more probably scuttled, or burnt it. I never expected that the junk, or the pirates who seized it, would be heard of again. At the same time, I considered it right to do what I could, not only in the interests of the persons concerned, but also with the object of letting it be understood along the coasts, that cases of this nature would certainly be investigated with the object of bringing to justice the perpetrators of such crimes. The first thing to be done was to obtain tidings of the junk, before all traces of the cargo were made away with. In order to do this, it was necessary, without delay, to search the whole of the two coasts, on each side of the Straits, south of Laroot, on the Malay side, and of Delhi, on the Sumatran side. For such a purpose a vessel like the *Rinaldo*, drawing 15 feet 6 inches of water, was quite useless. I therefore ordered the *Pluto*, which vessel draws only 6 feet of water, to start for Malacca, and take on board a sufficient number of armed police (no gun was put on board) for her protection, or that of the boats when employed in making inquiries on shore. Neither I nor any one else contemplated that the junk would be found with some of the pirates on board, and being openly plundered in a considerable place like Selangor. Had there been the least reason to suppose that the junk would be found in any particular place with some of the pirates, I should certainly have requested the Captain of H.M.S. *Rinaldo* to go there at once, and should have communicated with the Ruler of the country and requested his assistance. As it was, I gave to the Captain of the *Pluto* letters addressed to the Sultan of Selangor, and to Tuanku Oodin, on the chance that he should require any assistance from either of them. . . . Your Lordship will now, I think, see that it was never anticipated that any engagement would take place with pirates, and that the *Pluto* was only sent as a convenient vessel to try to obtain tidings of the missing junk, and, if possible, to bring it back; and to obtain such information as would afterwards enable the pirates to be traced and captured, through the instrumentality

of the Ruler of the country in which they might have taken refuge.

The steamers belonging to the Colony, under the Indian Administration, were, I have always understood, specially provided for the suppression of piracy in the Straits, and it was, I believe, almost entirely by their means that piracy, once so rife in these waters, was put down."

Shortly after writing the dispatch from which I have quoted above, I saw a long letter in the London *Times*, by Sir Benson Maxwell, who had lately retired from the office of Chief Justice of the Straits Settlements, denouncing me for the action I had taken in this piracy case. I therefore wrote another dispatch to the Secretary of State, giving him further explanations, and pointing out the errors and misstatements in Sir Benson's communication to the *Times*.

In a letter to me from Captain Robinson, who had read Sir Benson's letter, he also pointed out the errors and misstatements contained in it.

The reply to my first letter to the Secretary of State was to this effect: "The explanation you have now furnished is satisfactory." To the latter there was a simple acknowledgment of its receipt.

In July, 1871, I received a letter from Mr Arthur Birch, stating that the Colonial Office wished for his opinion on the working of correspondence at Penang, and, before giving it, he should be glad to know how far I considered it necessary to send home copies of any dispatches from him of subjects which were of Imperial interest. For instance, the Selangor affair, might he assume that I had sent Lord Kimberley his three reports? It might be, he said, that as Lieutenant-Governor he had no right to know these things, but he did not think the absolute ignorance on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor of what did or did not go home of his work satisfactory, and in his position as a permanent member of the Colonial Office staff he asked the question, and not as Lieutenant-Governor, as of course in eight months he would have free access to all correspondence; and that he was in a different position to many others holding the same position.

I forwarded Mr Birch's letter to the Secretary of State, who, in reply to my letter, informed me that a communication

had been made to Mr Birch which he trusted would prevent him from committing any such mistake in future, and that I was quite right to have brought the matter to his notice.

In November, the two British flagships, the *Iron Duke* and the *Ocean*, came to Singapore with their respective Admirals, Kellet and Shadwell, on board. I lunched on board the *Iron Duke*, and the crew of the *Ocean* were put through some manœuvres for me, such as "Prepare for ramming," etc. The officer who conducted these manœuvres became an admiral, and has since held the highest appointment in the Admiralty.

In January, 1872, Admiral Shadwell stayed with me at Government House, and made an observation of the dip of the magnetic needle, in the garden, with his flag lieutenant. He was a charming old man, and greatly beloved by his officers, who called him "Pickwick without the spectacles," and "Our heavenly father."

On the 7th Nov., 1871, H.M.S. *Rinaldo*, Captain Robinson, returned from a voyage to the island of St Paul, in about 40° south by 80° east. Lieutenant Stopford, while trying to get a cartridge out of a 5-ton gun on board, had had his face blown up with gunpowder. He went home, on board the *Ocean*, to join the Queen's yacht, and Lieutenant Maude, who had been wounded at Selangor, also went home in that vessel.

At the end of November, 1871, I had a visit from the newly-appointed Governor-General of Netherlands India, on his way to Java. He told me that he ruled over a population of 25,000,000.

I also about this time received a visit from Don Esquierdos, who, with his wife and daughter, was on his way to take over the Government of Manila (the Philippines). In the course of conversation my wife happened to say she was nervous when driving, and found it difficult to obtain quiet ponies. The Don was so pleased with the reception he and his family had met with from us, that after his arrival at Manila he sent us a pair of quiet ponies, in charge of a Spanish soldier and a Manila soldier, both in uniform. The distance from Singapore to Manila is about 1800 milés. It was a Spanish galleon, laden with treasure, from Acapulco to Manila, that was taken by Admiral Lord Anson (my father's great-uncle), in 1743, and in course of conversation I mentioned this to the Don.

We were sitting at luncheon on the 17th December when a carriage was heard to drive up to the front entrance, and my aide-de-camp went to ascertain who might have arrived, and returned ushering in to me a gentleman with a little child seated on his extended hand, and followed by what I took to be a nurse. I immediately recognized the gentleman to be Mr John Pope Hennessy, and he introduced his companion as his wife. Mr Hennessy was on his way from his Government at Labuan to take up his new appointment of Governor of the Bahamas.

We were giving a large garden party that afternoon, and Mrs Hennessy, notwithstanding her husband's opposition, was anxious to be present at the entertainment. But there was the difficulty that, coming from Labuan, where there was no fashionable milliner, she was unprovided with a suitable costume. However, I arranged to send her in my carriage into the town, escorted by my private secretary, a captain in the navy, who put her in the way of getting satisfactorily rigged out.

Mrs Hennessy's father was Mr (afterwards Sir Hugh) Low, and Mr Hennessy had left his father-in-law suspended from his office of treasurer. Mr Low was released from his suspension on the arrival of the newly appointed Governor. Mr Low some years afterwards said to me, in reference to Mr Hennessy, that he was utterly unscrupulous.

Captain Speedy, who had charge of Prince Alamayou, the son of the late King of Abyssinia, was appointed to the police at Singapore, and brought the Prince with him. The Prince was a nice little boy, and used to come to play with my daughter at Government House. I received an order from the Queen that the Prince was to be sent home, and he was accordingly sent to England, in company with Captain Speedy. He died not long after, and there is a monument put up to his memory in St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.

In December I visited Penang, and stayed at the Government bungalow, on the mountain, and there again entertained the King of Siam, when on his way to India. The Sultan of Kedah, who was tributary to Siam, in token of which he sent to the King every third year the offering of the "Bunga-mas" (an artificial golden flower), and who owned a house in the

island, lighted up the three miles of the jungle path ascent by torches borne by Malays.

The King went on to visit Lord Mayo at Calcutta, and then to visit the north of India, and Mr Knox, the Consul-General for Siam, accompanied him. When the King returned to Calcutta, on his way home, Lord Mayo had been murdered at the Andamans by a convict, who, having been sentenced to death, objected to having had his sentence remitted, and so did something that would lead to his being executed. Sir William Jervois, R.E., at that time Inspector-General of Fortifications, who was visiting India in connection with his duties as such, and who, a few years later, relieved Sir Andrew Clarke as Governor of the Straits Settlements, was standing by Lord Mayo at the time he was murdered.

In 1872 I received a letter from the Sultan of Achin, in which he said, "What are these Orang Wolanda [Dutch] men-of-war doing on my coast? What does my friend advise?" In reply, I advised him to keep on good terms with his neighbours, and give them no cause of offence. This letter was found by the Dutch, when they took the Kraton (the Sultan's palace) at Achin.

CHAPTER XV

HOME ON LEAVE AND RETURN TO PENANG

(1872-1877)

ON the 1st April, 1872, I left Singapore, with my family, for England, on board the P. and O. steamer *Ellora*. From Suez we went by rail to Alexandria, and there embarked on board one of the Messageries Maritimes steamers to Marseilles.

I took home with me a pet wah-wah, or Silvery Gibbon (*Hylobates leuciscus*), which I conveyed to the Zoological Gardens in a hansom cab, with its arms round my neck. For this gift I received the thanks of the Zoological Society, signed by Mr Sclater, the secretary. I went to see it some months after, and found it moping by itself in an upper corner of one of the large monkey cages full of monkeys. It should have been fastened by a cord to a horizontal bar, supported by two upright posts at about six feet apart, when it would have gone through a number of antics which would have afforded much amusement to children, and even to older people. It was capable, when its rope got entangled in a knot, of clearing itself if the knot was not a complicated one.

Mr Campbell (became Sir George Campbell, K.C.M.G.), who was Inspector-General of Police at Ceylon, and had been appointed to act as Lieutenant-Governor in my absence on leave, in writing to me from Penang, said, "I had occasion to notice how much you had done in this matter [drainage of the town], and indeed in many other directions in the town. I must say that I have elsewhere seen far smaller results than have been brought about here by you, rewarded by much more gratitude than you received."

During my stay at home I visited, among others, the Tenisons at Kilronan Castle, Co. Leitrim; Sir Victor Brooke, at Colebrooke, Co. Fermanagh; the Clayton Brownes, Browne's

Hill, Co. Carlow; Captain Pack Beresford, of Fenagh, Co. Carlow; my uncle, the Dean of Chester, at Chester; the Okeovers, at Okeover Hall, Ashbourne, Derbyshire; the Thorntons, of Brockhall, Northampton; and I also stayed at Ratton, near Eastbourne, rented at the time by my eldest brother, Sir John Anson.

On the 28th March, 1873, I left London with my family, on my return to Penang. We stopped in Paris, where my friend Monsieur Autard de Bragard placed his flat, in the Rue Miromesnil, at our disposal; and went himself and stayed at the house of his son-in-law, Count de Lesseps, who, with his wife, was away in Egypt. He entertained us most handsomely, coming to dine with us each day, taking us to the opera, etc. He had an excellent establishment, and had purchased wines and other things at the Emperor's sale. His Brittany maids were excellent servants, and most attentive.

From Paris we went on to Milan, where we called on my friend Dr Orio, who told us his wife was an invalid and unable to see us, but that he should be very happy if we would come and have an Italian dinner with him. This invitation we accepted. He lionized us about Milan, took us to the theatre, and was most kind and attentive. He had been accustomed to go, annually, for some years, to Japan, to purchase silkworm seed, as the eggs of the silkworm were called; there having been a disease among the silkworms in Italy which had been very destructive to them. It was by meeting him on board a P. and O. steamer, and afterwards passing through Penang on his way backwards and forwards, that I had become acquainted with him.

On anchoring at Penang, on the 4th May, I was delighted to see my former servant, standing up in a boat, in spotless white garments and turban, and coming alongside the steamer. It was a great saving of trouble and inconvenience being able to hand over all my things at once into his charge, and to be saved the trouble, difficulty, and delay of trying to find a good servant. On landing, I found my other former house servant and one of my syces awaiting me. I had had no communication with them.

I was very glad, also, to take over "Suffolk," the house Mr Campbell (who had been acting as Lieutenant-Governor

in my absence) was occupying. This is the house previously referred to in connection with my prize at East Sheen.

Shortly after my arrival in Penang, I received a telegram informing me of the serious railway accident at Wigan, and that my brother, Sir John Anson, had been killed in it.

On resuming my duties, I found that the necessary extension of the gaol, in the country, in order to adapt it for the reception of criminals, in place of the old convict prison in the town, had not been commenced. There was outside this gaol a piece of ground that had, without any authority from the Government, been, many years ago, made use of by some "Seh" or tribe of Chinese as a burying ground. Mr Campbell, while doing my duty during my absence on leave, had, in order to prepare the ground for the extension of the building, commenced to remove one of the graves, and this having been resented, he had had the grave restored.

As it was absolutely necessary to obtain the ground, I sent for a Chinese gentleman with whom I was friendly, and told him this, and that the Government must have it. At the same time I said I had no wish to do anything which might offend those interested in the graves, and requested him to try to find out to what "Seh" the graves belonged, and what arrangement they would propose for the removal of the bodies they contained.

This he did, and informed me that the "Seh" would be quite satisfied if a feast were provided at the place, and the spirits of the departed were told that it was a very unhealthy place and that they would be removed to a better. Also, if the ground were to be trenched, and all the remains removed to another burying ground.

To meet this arrangement, mats were spread on the ground and a feast laid on them; the ground was trenched, and the remains placed in large jars and removed.

When the new buildings of this gaol were completed, the criminals were removed to it; and the Chinese among them were for some time very uneasy, and cried out at night, in fear of the spirits of the dead that had been buried there.

I was sitting at dinner one night, when I heard the command given outside the front entrance of my house: "Order arms, stand at ease." I inquired what it was, and

was informed that it was a party of armed police sent by order of the superintendent. It appeared that the Chinese had, at night, murdered the police constable on duty at the house of a native chief in the town, and blown up part of his house. His house consisted of two separate buildings joined above by a wooden bridge. The chief was away, in the native state to which he belonged, but his mother was in the house at the back, and, fortunately, it was the front house only that had been destroyed. As I had supported this chief in some action he had taken in opposition to some Chinese, it had been reported to the police that they intended to blow up my house also.

Later, in September, I was just starting with my wife in my carriage to go to a ball, when I was stopped by a party of armed police. Again the police had been informed of the intention of some Chinese to blow up my house. On this account, I had a guard of European soldiers at the house for six months after. It does not contribute to the comfort of a night's rest to feel one is liable at any moment to be blown up.

The harbour master at Penang was a man of a peculiar disposition. He was very touchy. If the captain of a man-of-war or merchant vessel asked him, in an agreeable manner, to do anything for him, he would be ready to do any amount of work for him; but if he were asked in an authoritative manner, he would be as churlish as possible, and not over-exert himself to do anything. On one occasion I said to him, "When you come into my office in a morning, I always say 'Good morning' to you, and you give me only a grunt in return." He replied, "I know, sir, I treat you very badly. I assure you, sir, I read my Bible every morning and determine to keep my temper, but I can't do it." He was, however, really a good officer, always most attentive to me, and ready to take any amount of trouble for me.

On the 1st Nov., 1873, Sir Andrew Clarke, R.E., arrived at Penang to take over the Government of the Straits Settlements from Sir Harry Ord. I accompanied him to Singapore, in order to give him any assistance and information he might desire. On arrival at the wharf at Singapore, I escorted Lady Clarke on shore, and preceded by the P. and O. agent, we passed through the P. and O. office building. While doing so,

the agent, hat in hand, bowed to Lady Clarke, and said he hoped she approved of the decorations. She replied, "Where are they?" I gave her a nudge, and told her the decorations had been placed in the building in her honour, and brought them to her notice, when she made some acknowledgment of them. They certainly were not very elaborate. I remained at the Government House until the 20th, when I returned to Penang. Sir Andrew and I had been cadets together at the R.M. Academy, Woolwich, and had obtained our commissions in the same batch in 1844; he going to the R.E., and I going to the R.A.

Sir Andrew immediately took up the subject of the native states of the Malay Peninsula, which were still causing much trouble, and especially the State of Perak, which was that with which, being in the neighbourhood of Penang, I was concerned.

On the 22nd November I was directed by the Governor to proceed to the Dindings, near the mouth of the Perak river, to inquire into an act of piracy. I accordingly proceeded on board H.M.S. *Midge* with a party consisting of a European police officer and ten armed native constables, a small cutter, two row-boats, and a set of tools. All these I landed and left on the island of Pankor, or Dinding, with instructions to the police, with the assistance of some Malay residents, to erect huts for themselves.

Captain Grant, of the *Midge*, as senior officer, had ordered Captain Patterson, of the *Avon*, to proceed, the day before, in the direction of Pankor, and to keep a look out for the pirates' boats. After passing down the channel between Penang and the mainland, we sighted the *Avon* in the distance with her yards all akimbo. On coming up with her, Captain Grant signalled to Captain Patterson to come on board the *Midge*, and, on his doing so, asked him what he was doing with his ship. He replied that he was trying to make his vessel look like a vessel in distress, with the object of inducing the pirates to come out to it.

I could obtain at Pankor no further information of the act of piracy that had been reported. I then proceeded in the *Midge* to the Perak river, and the only information I could obtain there was from an old man, that his two sons, having

been passengers on board a junk that had been taken by the pirates, had been murdered.

Having obtained no information south of the Dindings we steamed northward, and visited the Bruas and Larut rivers. Up the latter river I inspected the stockade that had lately been destroyed by H.M.SS. *Thalia* and *Midge*, and also a stockade adjoining it, that had been built by adherents of the Orang Kaya Muntri, or so-called Rajah of Larut, a subordinate ruler of the district, with whom I was on friendly terms. I went on up the river in the Colonial Government steam launch, towing three man-of-war's boats, fully armed and manned, to a large strong stockade which had been erected by Chinese inimical to the Muntri, and on the site of one that had been destroyed by the boats of the *Thalia* and *Midge*. On turning a sharp bend in the river we came suddenly within a hundred yards of this stockade, which was crowded with Chinamen, and round which a great many flags were flying, and in the middle of which, and exactly opposite us, the muzzle of a 24-pounder gun that could have raked us was visible. I was glad to see all the flags lowered in token that there was no intention of opposing us. I sent a request to the head man to come and see me on board, but he was absent further up the river, at the town.

I saw the Muntri's harbour master at the lower stockade, who informed me that the Muntri's forces, including Captain Speedy and his sepoy, and a thousand men sent by the Sultan, were preparing to attack a stockade up the country, near the tin mines, for the defence of which the Muntri was fighting. It was for supplying his enemies with food, etc., that the acts of piracy were being committed.

What at this time made the position of affairs worse was the disputed succession to the Sultanate, which divided the native Malays into two factions. In my report I pointed out that in my opinion it was a question for the Imperial Government, whether, in the interest of the peace of the colony of the Straits, as well as in that of the Malay population, the State of Perak should not be either taken under the immediate protection of the colony, or annexed to it. Had this suggestion been adopted at the time, the Perak War, which occurred in 1875, would not have taken place, and great trouble and

expense to the colony and the Home Government would have been avoided.

I stated that the only persons who would object to the carrying out of my proposal would be a few chiefs, who lived a life of ease and debauchery on what they ground out of the unfortunate ryots.

It was evident both to Captain Grant and myself that gunboats of the class of the *Midge* and *Avon* were useless for operations on the Malayan coast, in consequence of the shallowness of the water for long distances from the shore, as well as over the bars of the numerous rivers, which, however, have deep water inside them.

The whole of the Malayan coast is a network of rivers and creeks, overhung with trees, the branches of which droop over the water's edge. These creeks are of various dimensions, some very extensive and others but a few feet wide; many are very shallow. It is evident therefore that it was very difficult, in fact found impossible, to overhaul long, low, narrow boats drawing but a few inches of water, and manned by not less than 42 oars (21 on each side), among these intricate creeks, with which the pirates alone were well acquainted.

On the 13th Jan., 1874, Sir Andrew Clarke arrived at the island of Pankor, about 90 miles south of Penang, and not far from the mouth of the Perak river. He came in the Government steamer, accompanied by H.M.S. *Avon*. He had made arrangements that the chiefs of Perak should meet him there, but the Sultan did not come. The Rajah Muda, or deputy Sultan, who in the ordinary course would have been created Sultan on the death of Sultan Ali, in 1871, was there. He had been passed over because of his exceedingly bad character. Wherever he had gone he had brought trouble and misery to the inhabitants. He was an opium smoker, and was unable to come to Penang on account of the debts he had incurred during a course of extravagance, dissipation, and folly, while on a visit there. In August, 1873, I had endeavoured, with the aid of this Rajah Muda and other persons (Chinese and Malays) concerned, to put an end to the disturbances in Perak, and it was owing to the failure of the Rajah Muda to carry out the agreement he had signed with the rest that my efforts failed. In consequence of this, and

his notorious bad conduct, I told him he should never, so far as I had any influence, become Sultan of the country. However, when Sir Andrew Clarke met him at Pankor, he seemed to be very favourably impressed by him, and on my meeting Sir Andrew a short time afterwards, he told me that directly he saw him, he saw he was "the right man."

In his dispatch to the Earl of Kimberley, Sir Andrew stated :

"It was gratifying to me to find myself disappointed in the opinion I had formed of the Rajah Muda, who, to my surprise, I found a man of considerable intelligence, and possessing perfect confidence that he should be able to maintain his position, if he were once placed in Perak as its legitimate ruler."

So at the meeting at Pankor with the Malay chiefs, on board the Government steamer, and the man-of-war anchored close by, Sir Andrew induced them to agree to appointing the Rajah Muda to be Sultan, and to relegating the Sultan Ismail, who was not present, to the office of Rajah Muda. There can be little doubt that these chiefs did not fully realize what they were asked to agree to; or if they did, had no intention of acting up to it. One of them, with whom I was well acquainted, and whom I had always found very willing to comply with any request I made to him, came to me a few days after this affair at Pankor, and said he was so confused and upset at that meeting, that he did not rightly know what the Governor wanted him to do; and that, if he could know, he would be quite prepared to help to carry out his views. I suggested he should write to that effect, to the Governor. He said he did not know how to write such a letter, and asked me to draft one for him. This I did, and he got it translated into Malay by my interpreter, and sent it to the Governor at Singapore. It merely stated, in respectful language, what he had said to me. Some time after, Sir Andrew was at Penang, and he told me that he had received a most impertinent letter from this chief, and called him the d—dest this, that, and the other. I said, "I wrote that letter." He looked at me, but said nothing. Now Sultan Ismail was a very good and harmless man, and had he been treated, and dealt with, in a proper manner, would have been amenable,

and willing to meet the views of the Colonial Government. However, the result of the arrangements that were made, including the sending to Perak, as Resident, Mr Birch, a very able officer but one most unsuited for the appointment, was, that Mr Birch was murdered; and this was the cause of the Perak War. It was only a month before his murder that Mr Birch came to see me at Penang, and from what he then said to me, as to what he was doing in Perak, it did not surprise me when I heard that the chiefs had conspired against him.

Sir Andrew Clarke, before leaving the colony, changed his opinion of Birch, for, in a letter he wrote to me just before he left for India, he said :

“I am very much annoyed with Birch, and the head-over-heels way in which he does things; he and I will come to sorrow yet, if he does not mind. He has made a regular mull of the farms, and does not seem to have impressed either the Sultan or the ex-Sultan very favourably.”

In my Blue Book Report on the Settlement of Penang for the year 1874, dated April, 1875, under the head of “General,” I wrote an account of the affairs connected with the native state of Perak, so far as I was concerned with them; but as it indicated some of the failures in the policy which Sir Andrew Clarke had adopted, he requested me to withdraw two pages, which I did. My report, without the part referred to, was in the usual course sent home to the Colonial Office.

Sir Andrew Clarke went to India in May, 1875, and was relieved by Sir William Jervois, R.E., as Governor of the Straits. It was arranged that Sir Andrew should remain at Singapore for a short time after Sir William's arrival, to give him any information he might require. This was a great mistake, for Sir Andrew wanted to dictate to Sir William the policy he should adopt, and Sir William declined to be dictated to. There was jealousy between the two, and I received the confidences of both of them. Sir William was the senior officer, in the Royal Engineers, to Sir Andrew; and Sir Andrew, as well as Sir William, had been Inspector-General of Fortifications at the War Office.

On leaving Singapore, Sir Andrew wrote to me at Penang, as follows :

"MY DEAR ANSON,

Only one line to say that we leave this on or about the 26th, and soon afterwards I hope to shake you by the hand, and thank you with all my heart for the loyal support, often when I fear you did not agree with my views, you have ever given me. Jervois has plunged into native states head-over-heels. He seems determined to get along. I hope he may not go too far.

Yours sincerely,
A. CLARKE."

In course of conversation with Clarke on one occasion he had told me that he should have had the command of the Ashanti Expedition, had he not stipulated that the country should be handed back to the native Government after the war was over.

Sir William found that he had to give a great portion of his time to the matters connected with the native states, which entailed considerable additional expenditure to the colony.

On the 19th May, 1875, I was staying at the Government House on the mountain at Penang, and received a visit from Syed Abdul Rahman, an envoy of the Sultan of Achin. We discussed the subject of the war between the Achinese and the Dutch, and I pointed out the hopelessness of the cause of the former, and suggested that he should agree to meet the Dutch Consular Agent at Penang, and endeavour to come to some agreement that would put an end to the war. He said this was impossible; and, placing the points of his two forefingers touching one another, he added, it would be like putting fire to gunpowder. I argued the matter with him for five hours, and at last he agreed to meet the Dutch Agent, with whom I at once communicated, and a meeting was arranged at the Government House on the mountain for the 22nd.

The Dutch Agent, on the 21st, sent me a copy of a telegram he had transmitted to the Government of Batavia, as follows:

"Abdul Rahman paid visit to Lieutenant-Governor, stated he desires communicate with Dutch Government. Lieutenant-Governor advised him to confer with me, non-officially, at house of Lieutenant-Governor, to-morrow morning, I accepted."

On the 23rd May, the Agent telegraphed to his Government as follows :

“Long interview with Abdul Rahman. Declared wish to promote peaceful settlement. Asked me, in presence of Lieutenant-Governor, your permission to go direct to some hostile part of Achin Proper, to confer with hostile chiefs, and endeavour obtain full power act for them. Then return here, and commence negotiations with our Government. Lieutenant-Governor believes Abdul Rahman sincere—Abdul Rahman desirous Dooed Sultan, himself Regent.”

To the above the Government of Batavia replied, by telegram, from Buitenzorg, 30th May :

“Government not inclined to accept any intervention whatever for negotiating with the chiefs in Achin. In case they wish to submit, they must address themselves to the Commander in Achin. Communicate this telegram to Lieutenant-Governor of Penang, adding that Governor-General appreciates his endeavour for assisting to bring the war to an end, but is convinced that the best way to obtain this end is to adhere to the above principle.”

On the 4th June I received the following from the Agent :

“Allow me to thank you for your letter of this morning. Taking into consideration the contents of that letter, and the result of the inquiries I have made, I shall again wire to Government, and endeavour to dispel the fears they entertain concerning the good faith of the Syed. He has everything to gain by acting sincerely, whereas his devotion to the cause of the war party could not be of any real advantage to him. I have mentioned in my telegram that the Syed is anxiously awaiting a decision.

In a letter to the Governor-General, I have mentioned that you desired me to thank His Excellency for the appreciation of the endeavour you had made to promote the conclusion of peace.”

On the 11th June, the Syed asked my interpreter to get the Agent to fix an hour to meet him, on the following day, at the Government Offices. My interpreter wrote to the Agent, who replied that he thought the Syed could come to his house without any fear. The Syed, when told this, at first said he was afraid of exciting suspicion, but when my interpreter said

he would go with him in a "gharry" in the evening, he consented to go at 4.30, and he went accordingly. The Syed asked the Agent, if there was no answer from Batavia about his going to Achin, and the Agent said there was none, and that he thought, if the Government meant to agree to his going, they would have replied before. The Syed then said, what more could he do? The Government would not trust him, and that it was no good his remaining in Penang, and that he should go. The Agent said the Government did not seem inclined to believe him, and that, before they did, he must show distinctly that he wished to bring about the termination of the war. The Agent asked him whether he had written to the Ululalangs [head men in Achin]. He replied he had written to them and received an answer. Asked whether he had advised them of the folly of continuing the struggle, he replied that he had not, but had written only to find out their views. They all wished to fight on and die, and asked for further supplies of war material. The Syed said that in dealing with the Achinese, who were "Orang Hutan" [wild men of the jungle], it was impossible to go direct to the point. It was necessary to work round gradually. Thus, if he were to go and say to the chiefs, "It is better for us to give in and come to terms," they would simply regard him as a traitor, and throw him over. If he went he should say, "Fight on, redouble your efforts, where are all your guns?" He could then point out that with their present force they had not a chance, and could show them the hopelessness of their case. Then by degrees he would bring them round. He said that there was only one way of bringing about terms; viz, what he had proposed that day before the Lieutenant-Governor, and he asked the Agent if he had informed the Dutch Government of all his professions and his proposal. The Agent said he had. The Syed said he had now come to state for the last time what he was ready to do, and if the Dutch would not trust him he would then leave Penang. He could easily get to Achin [the coast of Achin was blockaded by eleven Dutch men of war], and if the Dutch Government would not have anything to do with him, he could go to Achin, and bid them fight on. The war could be continued for three years more. He knew in the end the

Achinese would be beaten, but what would the Dutch get? a desert, all the pepper destroyed, and the country desolate. If peace were brought about, 1000 Dutch soldiers would suffice to hold Achin, and two or three hundred the other places. He desired peace more than any one, and prayed that there might be an end to the slaughter. He would prefer to see the country under the Dutch, as he would profit greatly by it. The Dutch would make roads and improve the country. In every way it was to his interest to bring about a settlement. He was not an Achinese. What was Achin to him? If he brought about a settlement would not he be a great man. The Dutch would highly honor him, and he would get stars and medals. If he wished he could go to Europe and entirely give up Achin. He was well known to distinguished statesmen. It was clear what his interests were, and yet the Dutch would not trust him. As for his intentions, he had shown on several occasions that he intended well towards the Dutch, and was anxious to bring about peace. The first occasion was when General Kaupmann, just before the war began, consulted with him. He then fully explained his views, and advised the General the best way to bring about terms. Instead of listening to him, they had taken up Panglima Tabang, his enemy, a man of no position; and then this war had begun. He had told the General how they should proceed: at first offering favourable conditions, and by degrees establishing their supremacy as the English have always done in India. In that way they could have got Achin without any bloodshed. He had proposed the terms for a treaty, but the Dutch, instead of following his advice, or trusting him, had at once made war, thinking to conquer the place directly. Then he had gone to Constantinople to try to get the Turkish Government to intervene to stop the war, but they would not. He had seen the Dutch Consul at Jedda, and again he had shown to him how anxious he was to bring about terms. Failing at Constantinople, he had returned to Singapore, and from there had addressed the Governor-General, so the Dutch had plenty of opportunity of knowing his good intentions. It was true he had encouraged the Achinese to fight when the war had once begun, and since then, of course, he had assisted them,

but he was none the less anxious for peace and an end of the slaughter.

What he now proposed was this: he would go on board a Dutch man-of-war, and not land at all. They would anchor off Kloewang, and he would send for the leader of the Achinese. Then in the presence of a number of Dutch officers and surrounded by a guard, he would, in Malay, openly give advice to the chiefs. In the first place, after explaining the situation, he would get them by word of mouth to engage to agree to terms. To make this more binding, he would then get them to agree in writing, and lastly would have them solemnly to swear on the Koran. After that they could not go back, and terms could be arranged. Meanwhile there would be a suspension of hostilities. This was what he would do. He was the key by which the Dutch could alone enter Achin. If they threw away the key they could not get into the box without smashing it. They had thrown away the key, and had battered the box with a crowbar. It had made a great noise, but the box was not broken by it. The key was there, and they would not try it.

As the result of this interview with the Syed, the Agent promised to communicate again with the Netherlands India Government, and convey the Syed's proposal.

On the 15th June I received the following letter from the Agent:

"DEAR COLONEL ANSON,

The Governor-General requests me, this time by letter, to inform you that he appreciates in the fullest degree the endeavours made by you to promote a peaceful settlement.

I have received an answer from Government respecting the Syed's application for a safe conduct. Yet as matters stand at present, now that you have broken the ice, the Syed will have to enter into direct relations with me, and visit me, unaccompanied, at my residence, if he wishes to communicate with me further, and I hope that he will be convinced that the only wise path for him to follow is to profit by the good advice you have given him."

The Syed was a British subject, having been born in the British territory at Aden, and as a Syed or Seid was a

descendant of the Prophet Mohammed. He was a scholar and well read in Eastern languages, and had visited Paris, Turkey, etc.

Later on I invited the General in command of the Dutch Army in Achin to pay me a visit at Penang, and received through the Dutch Agent (who afterwards became Consul General), the following reply:

"I am highly sensible for the kind attention of Colonel Anson, and beg of you to present my compliments to the Colonel and to inform him that his friendly invitation is sincerely appreciated.

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the English language to write this myself to the Lieutenant-Governor: my knowledge of that language only permits me to read and understand it. I shall however not be able to avail myself of the kind offer of Colonel Anson.

There is still much work to be done here, and much to put in order, so that I cannot possibly absent myself. But the kind offer will not the less be an agreeable souvenir for me. If you have an opportunity you would oblige me by telling the Lieutenant-Governor that we are all very much pleased with the readiness of the English authorities to render us assistance. We immediately noticed this, and are very grateful for it."

Several of the captains of the Dutch men-of-war came and stayed with me at the Government House on the mountain at Penang, and some of them had names rather difficult to pronounce. On one occasion my wife, having remarked this to one of them, asked him how he pronounced his name. He said, "My name is Schvann, Schvann, Schvann, what you have in England, one great white bird vot you call one gooose." He evidently reversed the old saying, and his swans were all geese.

Major Lockhart and Major Palmer came to Penang, by order of the Government of India, to proceed to Achin, and be present at and report on the war. Each of these officers afterwards became Commander-in-Chief in India. The former as General Sir William Stephen Alexander Lockhart, K.C.S.I., and the latter as Lieut-General Sir Arthur Power Palmer, K.C.B.

At 6.30 p.m. on the 3rd Nov., 1875, on returning from my evening drive at Penang, I found the Superintendent of

Police and the captain of the Government steamer awaiting me. While the superintendent engaged my wife in conversation, the captain took me aside, behind one of the pillars at the entrance of my house, and said: "Mr Birch has been murdered, sir. I have just arrived from Perak." Mr Birch was the Resident of Perak. After some further conversation, he said, "Well, I must get back to my ship. I want 40 tons of coal on board, and I know I shan't get that on board before to-morrow evening." He then left me, when I at once telegraphed to the town, three miles away, and ordered the 40 tons of coal to be put on board immediately, and when he arrived at the wharf he found his vessel being coaled. I hurriedly had my dinner, and then went to the infantry barracks to see the officer commanding the troops, but he was not at home. I therefore left word for him to meet me at the central police office in the town. I went on to a house near, occupied by the Judge and Captain Innes, R.E. (the Colonial Engineer, seconded for that office). They were both in bed and asleep. But the front door was not locked, so I went upstairs, and looked into a room on one side of the passage, in which I saw a judicial-looking four-post bed. I then looked into the room on the other side, and saw a military officer's bed. In a low voice I called out, "Captain Innes"; receiving no answer, I repeated this in increasingly loud tones. At the third time, Captain Innes sprang up, and asked what was the matter. I said, "Mr Birch has been murdered, and I want you, as Commissioner, to accompany the force I am going to send to Perak to protect the Government officials there." I added, "I am going to the central police office, meet me there." He jumped out of bed and said, "If you will wait a minute, sir, I will accompany you." He did so. Poor fellow; on the 6th he was shot through the heart. Such a nice fellow and good officer. He was not sent as a combatant, but he would join in the attack on a Malay fort.

I proceeded to the police station, and telegraphed Mr Birch's murder to the Governor at Singapore; but as he received, at the same time, a telegram from Mr Birch to say that all was right in Perak, he could not understand my message and telegraphed for an explanation.

The officer commanding the troops, the commissariat

officer, and other officials I had sent for, met me at the police station, and I made all arrangements to send off a party of military and armed police, and they left for the Perak river, on board the Colonial Government steamer, at 8 o'clock in the morning. In a letter to me from Captain Dunlop, R.A., Inspector-General of Police, Straits Settlements, who afterwards joined the expedition from Singapore, he wrote, "Very many thanks for the great kindness and energy you have shown in sending us supplies, etc. Your great forethought has saved us much inconvenience."

It was the unexpectedly early arrival of this expedition that checked the Malays from coming down the river.

It was unfortunate, however, that the lieutenant of the navy, and the colonial official at Bandhar Bahru did not take matters more seriously. The former wrote a letter to Captain Innes, who was at the island of Pankor, which indicated this; and on his joining them the following day, they made an ill-arranged attack on a fort, in which ten men of the 10th Regiment were badly wounded. Had these officers exercised a little more patience and prudence, the war in Perak, which followed, might have been avoided.

On the 9th November Sir William Jervois wrote to me as follows :

"I do not think we can do much good in discussing the relative merits of Abdullah and Ismail [Ismail was the Sultan Sir Andrew Clarke had deposed in favour of Abdullah], altho' no doubt, as you say, there is a great deal to be said upon the question. I had to take the matter up in the position in which I found it. I am much obliged to you for the prompt action you took in sending a detachment of the 10th to Perak.

It is much to be regretted that their attempt upon Passir Sala failed; and the death of a fine fellow like Innes is a sad item in the affair. You made an admirable choice in selecting him as Acting Assistant Commissioner. Entre nous, I believe if *he* had been the military officer in command, the business would have been a success."

Later, on the 14th November, Sir William wrote to me: "Your letter to Ismail is very judicious. . . . There is a great deal of truth in what you say about the Abdullah case."

In a dispatch by the Secretary of State to Sir William

Jervois, of 1st June, 1876, he states: "With regard to the retention of Abdullah as Sultan, I am obliged to infer, both from late events and from your recent communication, that his selection was not fortunate, and that he has not the proper capacities for a ruler."

After this, the Governor, Sir William Jervois, came to Penang. General Ross came from India with the Gurkhas, the Buffs, and other troops. The General commanding the troops in China and the Straits Settlements (General Colborne) came from Hong Kong; and seven men-of-war of the Indian and of the China Squadrons also arrived.

At a dinner I gave, after the war, to General Colborne and some of the officers of the Perak Expedition, the events of the expedition were being discussed, when I said to the General, who I believed hoped to get some recognition of his services in connection with it: "I am afraid there was not water enough in the Perak river to get a bath out of it [K.C.B.]" He got excited about this, and compared what he had done, with what he considered the comparatively easy work of General Wolseley in Ashanti.

On the 4th December, just after the Perak war had commenced, on a Saturday afternoon, Sir William Jervois, who was still at Penang on account of that war, came into my office and, standing at the back of my office table, said: "Look here, Anson, there is this affair now in Sungei Ujong; I ought to go there." To this I said only, "Yes." Then he added, "But I don't think I ought to go out of telegraphic communication with the Secretary of State." I said, "I quite understand that." Then he said, "Will you go?" I answered, "When would you like me to go?" He replied, "When would you be ready to go?" I said, "Now." Then he told me the 1st Gurkhas would be out of a vessel in which were other troops, and would be shipped on board the British India steamer *Malda* at 4 o'clock the following afternoon, when I could go on board and start with them. My son, who was in my office, came to me at that moment, and I told him to telegraph out to his mother that I was going to Sungei Ujong at 4 p.m. the next day. There was, however, some delay in shifting the troops, and I did not get away till the afternoon of the day after that.

The following is a précis of my instructions from Sir William Jervois, dated 4th December :

“Alarming reports having reached me with regard to a general rising in the States about Malacca and Sungei Ujong, and to an unfriendly feeling in the Settlement of Malacca itself, I have thought it advisable to ask the General to send a body of troops with a vessel of war to Malacca . . . I have thought it advisable to send a further force to preserve the peace, and to take active operations if required. At my request, 100 Infantry and 20 Artillery have already been ordered to Malacca, in a vessel of war ; and 300 of the Gurkhas and 30 Artillery with rockets, just arrived, will be sent down in the *Malda*, as soon as possible. It is desirable that the troops should be accompanied by an officer in whose judgment I can place reliance, and with whom I can consult and advise before his departure, so that he may be acquainted with my views and wishes, and exercise the same control as if I were personally present and could make inquiries which I desire to be made for myself. You can quite understand that I do not wish, unless it cannot be avoided, to have another hostile expedition to provide for whilst the Perak matters remain unsettled.”

On the 6th December I received the following amended instructions :—

“From information received from the Assistant Resident, Sungei Ujong, and from Mr Daly, surveyor, it appears desirable at once to land a portion of the Gurkha force, with a detachment of Artillery and rockets, at Lukut, for service in Sungei Ujong. Should a requisition for troops for service in Selangor [the native State intervening between Perak and Sungei Ujong] come from Mr Davidson, a detachment might be supplied provided it can be spared. Mr Daly, who has a knowledge of the country, has been instructed to accompany you, and to give you every assistance he may be able to afford. Mr Kynnersley [one of the Straits cadets] will also accompany you, and will be employed as interpreter to the force.”

I started from Penang in the *Malda*, of 2000 tons, with the Gurkhas on board, and an officer of the Royal Engineers, on the afternoon of the 6th. Major-General Ross (afterwards Sir John), from Calcutta, started for the war in Perak at the same time.

I reached Malacca on the 8th, and failed in my endeavours

to obtain coolies. The following day I anchored off the Lukut river, which is situated in about $2^{\circ} 25' N.$, about 18 miles distant from Malacca, and 10 miles from the Cape Richardo lighthouse.

I had no commissariat officer with me, and none joined me until the 15th, so that I had to undertake the work of the commissariat as well as that of transport. By the 19th, when up the country, Commissary Stanes and four other commissariat officers had arrived.

On the 9th, the British India steamer *Abyssinia* arrived, with two companies of the Buffs and half a battery of artillery on board. My instructions were to land the artillery, but to send the Buffs back, as they were to be kept as a reserve for either the Perak or the Sungei Ujong expedition, as might be found necessary later. I proceeded in a steam launch to the *Abyssinia*, which had been anchored about 5 miles from the *Malda*, with an impassable sandbank between the two vessels, and ordered the captain to bring his ship round near enough to the *Malda* to enable the artillery to be transhipped to the latter. This he refused to do. He showed symptoms of having been refreshing himself a little too freely. However, I left him a written order, with which he shortly after complied. The officers of the Buffs were greatly disappointed when I informed them that they were not to land, and I dismissed the *Abyssinia* after the removal of the artillery, and that vessel returned to Penang. On the evening of the 9th, H.M.S. *Thistle*, Captain Stirling, came to anchor near the *Malda*.

At 11 p.m. I received a dispatch from Captain Murray, the Resident of Sungei Ujong, in which he reported an engagement with the enemy, on the 7th, at Paroe, 5 miles from the Residency, where they were strongly stockaded. He reported: of the 10th Regiment, 2 men killed, 9 badly wounded, and 3 slightly wounded; 5 killed, 10 wounded, of the Arab contingent, and the officer in command of them slightly wounded; 4 police killed, and 6 wounded. This affair seemed to have been badly managed, for had the officer in command waited for the gun to be brought up, very few casualties, if any, would probably have occurred. The gun was brought up later, and did good execution. The affair was one of those foolhardy ones



HOUSE OF THE DATU KLANA OF SUNGAI UJONG.



POLICE STATION, BUKIT PUTUS.

that British officers have too often undertaken when undervaluing the natives.

Some of the enemy, in defending their fort, were armed with slings made from the black fibre of a palm tree, with which they threw stones at our men over the parapet. I have one of these slings now in my possession.

The force employed on this occasion consisted of : 2 officers and 35 rank and file, 10th Regiment ; 3 officers and 48 men of the armed police force ; 1 officer and 84 men of the irregular Arab force. I immediately issued an order that no further action against the enemy should be undertaken without orders from me. I got off part of the military force on the 9th, and the remainder on the 11th. I followed, accompanied by Captain Stirling and 30 men of H.M.S. *Thistle*, the next day. We had 20 miles to march to the Residency, at Rassa, and the greater part of the route was along a jungle path, which admitted of only a single file. It was very heavy walking, occasionally knee-deep in water, and there were many very large fallen trunks of trees to get over and many other impediments to overcome. It was steep in places, and very slippery from the coolie traffic along it. Had it not been reported that the enemy were on the Linggi river, the whole of the force might have gone up that river in boats.

After arriving at Rassa, and having got all the force, guns, ammunition, stores, etc., complete, and in good order, I gave instructions to divide the force into two divisions,—one to start in advance of the other, and to proceed by an old, unused jungle path, and work round to the rear of the stockades ; and the other to advance by the direct path ; the object being to attack these stockades in front and rear at the same time. It was useless to advance direct with too large a force, as it was impossible to march with a front of more than one file, the path being little more than a foot wide. When afterwards passing through the pass, where the stockades were, I touched both sides of the slope of the ground with my arms extended at the level of my shoulders. At each side of this pass, which was at an elevation of about 1000 feet above the sea, the mountains rose to a height of 3000 feet, and were covered with thick and very high jungle.

The party to make the flank march started on the 19th,

under the command of Lieut-Colonel Hill, of the 1st Gurkhas. Shortly after it had started, the chief commissariat officer came to me, and reported that he was unable to get the Chinese coolies to convey the rum for the Gurkhas' rations, etc. As it had been raining a very heavy tropical rain since the party had started, I felt it was most desirable that the Gurkhas should not be deprived of their accustomed ration of spirits, when camped at night in the wet jungle, so I directed the officer to inform the coolies he would give them each a ration of pork and of chandoo (opium prepared for smoking) at the end of the day, if they would go. They immediately picked up their loads and trotted off at a good pace, very soon overtaking the troops. This party consisted of a detachment of Gurkhas, the men of H.M.S. *Thistle*, under Captain Stirling, R.N., and a detachment of artillery, under Lieut Henriques, R.A.

In the meantime I had directed that an advanced party should be sent forward to reconnoitre the ground in the direction of the Bukit Putus pass. This duty was entrusted to a party of fifty Gurkhas, under the command of Captain Channer, and accompanied by Lieut North, R.E. Captain Channer reported that he proceeded towards the pass at 4 p.m. After marching a mile along the bed of a torrent, he found the road completely blocked by felled trees. He then threw out flanking parties, leaving a rearguard, with Lieut North, to cut through the obstructions. He went himself with the left flanking party of twenty-five men, and soon observed the smoke of fires, and, working cautiously through the jungle, found one of the enemy's log stockades. A palisade enclosed it, and the ground was covered with "ranjows" (crows' feet, or sharp-pointed pieces of bamboo). He jumped over the palisade, and heard the Malays talking inside the stockade, and, taking advantage of their careless look-out, rushed in with some of his men, and took the stockade, which was held by twenty-five or thirty Malays. A fire was at once opened on him from a lower stockade, 80 yards off, and from another on his right, 160 yards off, across the pass. Getting his men under cover, he kept up a steady fire on both stockades. After half an hour the enemy evacuated the lower stockade, and shortly afterwards the one on the right. Reinforcements from camp, and his rear-guard, came up at sunset, when the lower stockade

was occupied. One Naik was killed and three Gurkhas wounded. Five of the enemy were killed in the first stockade; the number of the enemy's casualties in the other stockades was not ascertained. The stockades were all strongly built, and loop-holed, and the jungle between them was almost impassable. There can be no doubt that, had it not been for the good fortune of finding the enemy completely off their guard (they were cooking their evening meal, and had felt quite certain that the English would not come so late, and that, were they to do so, they would not be able to get through the jungle with the obstruction formed by felled trees and bamboo brushwood), the stockades would not have been taken without great difficulty and very many casualties on our side. It was for this that Captain (afterwards Lieut-General) Channer received the Victoria Cross. Captain Channer, on jumping into the stockade, immediately shot one man with his revolver, and two sepoys close to him each shot a man. They captured a 4-pounder gun in the stockade.

After the two expeditions, under Colonel Hill and Colonel Clay, had left Rassa, I remained behind alone with my secretary and interpreter, to make final arrangements with the Commissary General, and for transport. While standing in the verandah of the Residency an English officer passed, in charge of a gang of Chinese coolies for transport. It was very difficult to obtain coolies, and also to keep them when obtained. The officer seemed troubled to look after them, and I offered him the services of a native police constable (a Malay) to assist him. This he accepted. The officer and his party had not been gone more than a few minutes when I heard the report of a rifle or pistol. I sent my secretary to ascertain what it was, and he brought back a Chinaman's hat covered with blood. But although I had a search made, no injured man could be found. The officer passing again later, I questioned him as to who had fired the shot, but could obtain no information from him. I said to him, "It looks like a case of murder," on which he turned very pale. There was no means of obtaining any further information about it, and no injured man was found.

Whilst at Rassa, one of the officers, who had constituted himself the correspondent of the Singapore paper, wrote to

that paper complaining of the delay in commencing operations, and attributing it to divided counsels, when, in fact, I had consulted no one, but had determined not to move until I had everything in perfect readiness to do so.

I passed through the Putus pass the following day, and directed the troops to be forwarded on to Terachi. On the way, when clear of the pass, two more strong stockades, which had been abandoned, were destroyed; and, after crossing a stream seven times, and wet paddy fields, a junction was made with Colonel Hill's force at Terachi. He had crossed the Maur river seventeen times, and had ascended 1400 feet, across swamps and through dense jungle. Captain Stirling, writing to me at Terachi, said :

"You will have heard from others of the junction of the forces, and of our severe march. Hoping soon to see you, and that our future movements may be as satisfactory as the last. I think there is little doubt now that we did the right thing in making this flank march; as you presaged, it was hard work, but has, I expect, astonished the Malays."

Poor Stirling was lost with all hands on board a training brig off South America in 1880, and nothing was ever heard of the vessel, which was supposed to have foundered.

On the first day's march from Rassa the Gurkhas made a temporary halt on the property of a head man, named Datu Sultan, who came to me and complained that the sepoy were cutting down his cocoanut trees. On inquiry I found that, not being accustomed to these trees in their own country, they were commencing to cut them down with their kukris (large Gurkha knives) to obtain cocoanuts. Now, a cocoanut tree is a property yielding profit for about sixty or seventy years. The regulated number of cocoanut trees to an acre is forty-nine, and a well cultivated tree should yield one hundred nuts during a year. Estimating a cocoanut to be worth only one cent ($\frac{1}{100}$ part of a dollar), this in Penang would give a return of forty-nine dollars to the acre, or, at that time, nearly £10 per acre. Of course, I immediately put a stop to this method of gathering cocoanuts.

At Terachi Colonel Clay reported to me that there was no ottah for the Gurkhas. I asked, "What is ottah?" He

explained that it was the meal of which the Gurkhas made their chupatties—their regular food. I told him there was no such thing to be had, and asked him whether his men would not eat rice. He told me they would. Then I said, "There is any quantity of padi [rice with the husk on it] in the houses of the village; and as the inhabitants have abandoned their houses, your men must help themselves." "Oh! but it has not been cleaned," he said. "Well, the Chinese coolies will clean it," I replied. "But there are no pots to cook it in," he affirmed. "Pots!" I exclaimed, "why, there are pots in the houses, in each of which rice could be cooked for one hundred men." "But they have been tinned by Mussulmans," he said. "Greased cartridges again!" I remarked; then added, "Have you not in your regiment a man who is looked up to as a sort of Nestor?" After consideration he said, "Yes, there is a subahdar." "Well," I said, "send for the subahdar, and tell him this: that there is no ottah, but plenty of rice, but the pots for cooking it have been tinned by Mussulmans; and then, without making any suggestion yourself, ask him what he advises to be done." I then left him, but meeting him again shortly afterwards I said, "Have you seen the subahdar?" "Yes," he answered. "Well," I said, "what did he say?" "He said he should use the pots, and advise the others to do the same." So that difficulty was got over.

The inhabitants having deserted their houses, and fled into the jungle, I sent messengers out to try to induce them to return; but only the women, to the number of about two hundred, came in. They were all brought up to me, and with children, one by one kissed my hand. Those who had infants in arms put them forward to do so also. I then had the women collected together, and addressed them through my interpreter. I asked them why they ran away. They said they were very frightened. I said, "Do we look such dreadful people that you should be afraid of us?" Again they said they had been very much frightened. I then told them that English people did not fight against women and children, nor against any people who were peacefully disposed. That we wanted rice and other things, and were quite willing to have paid for them; but that as every one had gone away we had to help ourselves, and were unable to pay for them. I then warned them that all

their children, that should be born in future, would have long legs, because they ran away when we came. At this there was a general giggle, and we chatted and became good friends. I cautioned them to keep in their houses, away from the Chinese coolies, while we remained.

I occupied one of the best huts (such as it was) in the village, and made the acquaintance of a very old man, who had in his youth come from Menankerbow, on the west coast of Sumatra—supposed to have been the original country of the Malays. I invited him to come up the usual rough ladder, of four or five wide apart rungs, into the main room, and chatted with him; and, desiring to entertain him, offered him the only thing I had available at the moment—some mixed Reading biscuits; but alas! he had no teeth, and could not eat them. He became very friendly, and told me where I could find some brass guns, which I sent for, and had brought to me. In the meantime Colonel Clay had sent his men to search for guns, and had had no success; so I pointed out to him the superiority of diplomacy, and a box of Reading biscuits, over military force.

The owner of the hut I occupied at Terachi complained to me that his cocoanut monkey had been stolen. Now, a cocoanut monkey is a valuable property, as it is trained to ascend a cocoanut tree, with a long string attached round its neck, to throw down a cocoanut. It seizes a nut, and if it should not be the one required, a jerk of the string by the person holding the end of it induces the monkey to let go the nut and seize another, and so on until it seizes the required one. It then clasps the top of the nut, which with its outer husk is of great size, with its two little hands, and the bottom with its two little feet, and proceeds to twist it round until it falls to the ground. As the stalk is of considerable thickness, and very like rope, this is hard work for the short, curly-tailed little chap. I asked the Malay if he could describe the person who had taken his monkey, and he gave me a very accurate description of one of the commanding officers. I then wrote to that officer, stating that I had been informed that one of his regiment had stolen a monkey, and suggested that he should find out the man and have him flogged. That monkey came back to its owner very quickly.

I had sent some of my dirty linen to a friend at Malacca to get washed for me, and it was returned to me packed in a one-dozen brandy case. One of the officers who saw this case on its way, having been on short allowance of his usual stimulant, very coolly opened it, and was much disappointed at finding nothing more stimulating than clean shirts. He also, on another occasion, looted a box of vegetables that had been sent me from Malacca.

When marching along with the troops one day, a Malay came up to me, and complained that he had had his kris (Malay dagger) taken from him; and on my asking if he could point out the person who had taken it, he pointed to the officer who was walking by my side. I hinted to the officer what the Malay had said, and that he had better arrange the matter with him, if there was any truth in his statement, and prevent it from being brought before me in a more formal manner. I gathered from what he seemed to mutter that he thought it very hard that he was not allowed to recoup himself for all the trouble he was undergoing. But I heard no more of the complaint.

The Datu Klana, the chief of the native state of Sungei Ujong, who accompanied me, was very attentive and civil to me. He sent one of his many followers all the way back to his house in Sungei Ujong to fetch a chair for me to sit in. He had a brass teapot from which he kept me supplied on the march with very mawkish lukewarm tea. But this was of great benefit to me, for I was not induced to drink much of it, whereas the Europeans of the force, when passing a river, would drink a great quantity of water, the consequence being that many suffered from diarrhoea. I never took much liquid during the day, and found that I was satisfied with much less after the sun had gone down.

On the 23rd December, I instructed Colonel Clay to advance the force in two divisions, by different routes, to Sri Menanti, where they were to reunite. The country at and about Sri Menanti is very beautiful. Here we spent our Christmas Day.

At Sri Menanti I directed Colonel Clay to detach a small lightly equipped force, to occupy the village of the Datu of the native state of Jempol, and then to return direct to Rassa.

That force, under the command of Captain Rankin, 1st Gurkhas, to be accompanied by Captain Murray, Resident of Sungei Ujong, and Mr Daly, the surveyor, who was acquainted with the country.

I, with some difficulty, induced some of the more influential inhabitants of Sri Menanti to return, and come and meet the Datu Klana and myself. I explained to them that their chief, with the Datus of Muar and Jempol, having invaded the territory of the Datu Klana of Sungei Ujong with a number of their fighting men, and murdered the peaceable subjects of the Datu Klana, had been the cause of the coming of the British troops. That it was the folly and misrule of their own chief that had brought all the trouble on them, and that he had been the first to run away, desert his country, and abandon his people. All this they acknowledged. I then suggested an arrangement for the government of their country, to which they all agreed. Desiring to test the sincerity of their agreement to this, I told them to go and sit down by themselves, and talk over the matter together, and then come and let me know their real wishes. They retired to some distance, and, after consulting together, they returned, and in a cheerful manner exclaimed, "Suka." That is, they were agreed. To ascertain whether they were unanimous, I told them I did not wish to force any one to agree to anything to which he in his heart objected, and I was anxious that, when my back was turned, no one should say he agreed under compulsion, and that he never really meant to adhere to his agreement, and that, by meeting their wishes, I hoped to prevent trouble hereafter. I therefore requested those who were dissatisfied to go to the right, and the others to the left. All, however, again exclaimed, "Suka," and appeared well pleased, and then mixed with us in the most friendly manner.

On the way back from Sri Menanti, I took the longer road by the village of the Datu of Muar, and there made similar arrangements with as many of the people as I could get together, as I had made with those of Sri Menanti. I left a detachment of the Arab contingent, and another of the Sungei Ujong police, at the boundary between Sungei Ujong and Sri Menanti, and sent a detachment of police to Jempol, another detachment to Sri Menanti, and the Datu Klana sent a reliable

Pangulu to a place named Gummutti, which, until occupied by the troops, was the headquarters of a freebooter who acknowledged no chief, and levied blackmail on all persons passing his campong (village). This man had stopped and imprisoned Mr Daly, the surveyor, for two hours, and his coolies for two days, and stripped them of their clothes. He returned Mr Daly's, but demanded payment for each of the coolies.

I had communicated with the chiefs of the States of Rembau, Johol, and Jelebu, and they had not joined in the late disturbances. The letters I received from these chiefs indicated the moral effect of the military operations in the other States.

I ordered the jungle to be cleared at the Bukit Putus pass, a police station to be constructed where the middle stockade had stood, on the top of the mound, twenty-five feet high, in the middle of the pass, and a bridle road to be made through it, which the surveyor was to trace.

Having no further occasion for the naval contingent, I requested Captain Stirling to rejoin his vessel with his men as expeditiously as possible, but to remain at the mouth of the Linggi river until I should join him. I directed Colonel Clay to leave a sufficient force at Rassa for the immediate requirements of the Resident of Sungei Ujong; and to send the remainder of his force to Malacca, to await instructions from the Government of the Straits Settlements. I then proceeded with my interpreter down the Linggi river, in an open cargo boat, punted all the way by two men, and zigzagged from side to side, for twenty-hours, and boarded the *Thistle* at the mouth of the river, and took passage in that vessel to Penang. On passing off Larut in Perak, I boarded H.M.S. *Philomel*, the commander of which, Captain Garforth, was, with a detachment of his crew, up the country, accompanying the troops in the Perak war.

I arrived at Penang on the morning of my silver wedding day, much to the satisfaction of my family.

The following are extracts from letters written to me in connection with the Sungei Ujong affair.

From Captain Channer (late Lieut-General), who received the Victoria Cross (to which he refers), dated Dharmasala, Punjab, the 10th May, 1876.

"MY DEAR COLONEL,

I have to-day received your kind letter of congratulation, for which pray accept my best thanks, it is very good of you to recollect me amongst the press of your other business, I wish I could tell you that others had been so fortunate as myself, as yet the Regiment has received nothing, 'Batta' has been refused, and neither Col Clay nor Col Hill have received anything. General Ross even left out the 5 Gurkhas who stood by him in that affair at Kota Lama 4th Jany, though the 3 sailors mentioned had the medal for distinguished conduct given them. If our little fellows were allowed to carry the word 'Malaya' on their colors, and had a medal given them, they would value it much, but I am afraid that unless Sir William puts in a good word for them, they will get nil; Hill and Clay seem hurt at Captain Buller getting a C.B. and themselves being left out.

Are they going to give you nothing? I cannot understand the principle they go on, in the Bhootan, Looshai and Abyssinian campaigns, honors were freely given, and for Malaya we get nothing except a long sick roll, our men are still very unhealthy and breaking out all over boils.

I am still attached to the Regt but fancy I shall have to leave as I have got my promotion. I shall be very sorry to go, . . . I like the corps.

The two men I recommended for the 'Order of Merit' (the native V.C.) have both been gazetted. . . . I saw that Lord Stanley got nothing but a good snub for his ill-timed remarks: and I think no one can ever gainsay that the Sunghie Ujong business was well managed by you and a complete success, the opinion in India is that it was so, . . .

One of our Captains (Rankin) who went to Jompole (you will recollect) is very ill, and all of us are more or less shaky.

. . . . with kindest regards for yourself, Believe me my dear Colonel, Yours very sincerely,

G. N. CHANNER."

"July 30th 1876.

. . . . I have been long intending to write and congratulate you, on the good news that you had been gazetted to the C.M.G. I waited hoping to have given you some news equally good of the 1st Gurkhas, but Govt has forgotten us, and we are seemingly to get neither 'batta' nor compensation nor even a medal, the 10th seemed to be certain of the latter, but we hear there is no chance of it. We were all very glad to see your name in the *Gazette*, though I personally hoped it would

have been a C.B. and that Clay might have dropped in for the other decoration, however as Govt have given General Ross nothing, Clay is not likely to be rewarded. . . . We are all going on here much as usual, the men still sickly and much disgusted at being treated so shabbily, their working pay for building stockade sat Qualla Kangsa &c. has not been passed even. The local papers have taken the matter up, but Genl Ross will do nothing for us, and I fear nothing will be done, it is all bad policy.

I am going to the plains in Oct to get through a course of Fortifications, Surveying, Law, &c. A new idea of the C. in C. to send us all to school. The Buffs on return from Malaya were sent to Cawnpore one of the hottest stations in India, and are grumbling like true Britishers. We have the rains on here at present and as the average fall is 143 inches we are very moist. I expect to get transferred to another regiment as there is no appointment vacant in 1st G's, and we have already four Colonels. . . ."

"8th Oct. 1876.

. . . . Col. Clay has left the regt and is now with 19th P I at Mooltan.

There is terrible disgust amongst our men at our not getting a Medal for the Malayan Campaign or Batta and I think you have not been sufficiently recompensed nor Col Clay either. . . ."

From Commissary Stanes.

"Singapore, 1 August, 1876.

DEAR COLONEL ANSON,

I cannot express how much I estimate your kindness in sending me a copy of your report to H.E. The Governor giving expression to your appreciation of my Services in connection with the Sunghie Ujong Expedition, and I beg you to accept my warmest thanks for your most thoughtful and kind attention.

I shall endeavour to get the paper put before the Military Authorities at Home as it must prove a testimony in my favor, but should no other good result, I shall always refer to it with pride as having been attached to *the Expedition* which, under your direction, was so rapidly carried out and proved so successful. Believe me, yours truly,

ROBERT STANES."

The following is a letter from Lord Carnarvon to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, dated 31st May, 1876.

"I have the honor to inform you that Her Majesty has been pleased, on my recommendation, to give directions for the appointment of Colonel Archibald Edward Harbord Anson, R.A., now Lieutenant Governor of Penang, to be a Companion of the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, in consideration of his services in the Straits Settlements; and more particularly of those rendered by him whilst specially employed in the Malay States, which you brought to my notice in the 8th paragraph of your Dispatch No. 18, of the 14th January last.

I request that you will inform Colonel Anson that it has afforded me much satisfaction to submit his name to The Queen for this honour."

On my return from Sungei Ujong, I found the Perak war still going on, and a party of armed police was hunting for Sultan Ismail (then styled the ex-Sultan) in the jungle.

On the 14th January, he wrote a letter to the Sultan of Kedah, the neighbouring native state (subject to Siam), of which the following is a copy, as translated from the Malay.

"After compliments. At the time of writing this letter, I Sree Paduka Ayandah your father [he was no relation, but this was a friendly mode of address to a younger chief of another state] have left my home, and together with my children and grandchildren, am wandering in the jungle, caused by the doings of the Tuan Tuan of the white men, who are now in Perak; but I think that I have committed no fault to deserve this misfortune. If I were to state the whole it would be a very long story. The bearer of this letter might be asked.

I will mention only a little.

After the death of Mr Birch, all the quallahs [mouths of rivers] were blockaded, and no one could take supplies up, and the British troops entered in very great numbers from the interior; and from the coast or quallah, and the Governor sent several letters to me informing me that he wished to retaliate the death of Mr Birch, and I replied to the several letters of the Governor begging that he will not bring so many soldiers into all the places in Perak, as the people were very much alarmed, and every one had run away into the jungle, and also asking why all supplies had been stopped from outside. If only for the purpose of seeking the people who committed the deed on Mr Birch, it could be done by consulting some of the chiefs of Perak, and one or two tuans

of the white men, and they could together search and consult without going to the trouble of bringing such a large force. Afterwards a letter came from the Governor directing me to meet his trustworthy agent. I was willing to meet him, and got ready boats, and men, and we were waiting a little because there was no rice. His messenger guaranteed to get rice from that gentleman, when, in the midst of a conference, the Tuan Tuan [gentlemen] from the side of Quallah Perak arrived close to my campong [village]. I requested the messenger to stop the troops approaching nearer until I could go up, as my children and grandchildren were very much alarmed at hearing that the troops were coming. The messenger departed to report that I intended going up, our business was to consult, and not to kill and murder, and during the time that the messenger went to fetch the rice, the troops arrived, and I sent word to the agent that I was afraid to stay, and I and my children and grandchildren left, and ran into the jungle, towards the land side of the village. We were trying to get our children and grandchildren away from the place to enable them to reach my house at Guntah. I still thought that the troops might bring some good news for me, but as soon as they arrived they attacked the jungle, and for a moment they and four or five of my people fought. I never had any intention of fighting against the people of the British Government, but it was by the will of God that such a thing should have happened. We only wished to save our children from being killed or caught, and as soon as they were all assembled at Guntah, I left and took my way into the jungle to follow my fate. There was a little property, but which had to be thrown away. I was about half a month in the jungle when I passed through to ulu Perak [interior of Perak]. The agent's messenger came to me again, stating that the agent wished to meet me, and not taking any notice of the loss, &c, that I had suffered. Therefore, I was very much afraid that perhaps some heavier punishment would be inflicted on me, when I was once in his hands.

This is why I send to my son [friendly address only]. If my son would like to receive me and my children and grandchildren, and permit us to take shelter in my son's territory for a time, until God's will is known; I beg that my son will give me a written answer as to what my son thinks, so that we may not remain long in the jungle. And I hope that my son will not long delay, as we are in great distress. This is how it is. 14th January, 1876. 12th Dolhijah 1292."

On receipt of this letter the Sultan of Kedah came over to

Penang to see me. The Sultan and I had always been on very friendly terms. I was at the Government House on the mountain at the time, and it was a great mark of condescension on his part to come up there to consult me as to the action he should adopt in regard to Sultan Ismail's letter.

I advised him to recommend the Sultan to go into the State of Kedah, and then to allow himself to be handed over to me. He said, "That is not a thing one Sultan should do towards another," but after a moment's thought, he said, "But I will do it for you."

I immediately telegraphed to the Governor at Singapore, and asked him to communicate with the officer in charge of the troops in Perak, and direct him to cease hunting for the Sultan. I feared that, if the native troops or native police came up with the Sultan's party in the jungle, a massacre might take place.

On the 20th March, I received the following telegram :

"Ismail Sultan has come and has a large box and many bundles tied up with yellow cloth supposed to contain Regalia and about 15 followers. Kedah Sultan wants guard of police in plain clothes. He is going to stop in another house and has given up his house to Ismail."

On the 23rd, Sultan Ismail was brought to my office, in Penang, and handed over to me the Regalia (except of course the elephants that had formed part of it) of Perak. In doing so, he seemed to think he was creating me Sultan of Perak. I found him a very gentlemanly and pleasant old man, and I felt much sympathy with him. His possession of the Regalia showed that he had been the actually recognized Sultan. The Regalia was afterwards exhibited at the Colonial Exhibition in London.

I believe that had he been recognized as Sultan, he would have been amenable to all the requirements of the British Government; and all the trouble that had taken place in Perak might have been avoided. The great mistake was appointing the good-for-nothing Abdullah to be Sultan, and relegating Ismail to the position of ex-Sultan or Raja Muda.

On the following day, 24th March, I sent Sultan Ismail to

Singapore, on board H.M.S. *Egeria*, commanded by Captain Uvedale Singleton.

On the 30th March, the Sultan wrote to me the following letter, in Malay. This was stamped with his chop (seal), three inches in diameter.

"Rajah Ismail at Johore, to Honble Lt. Governor of Penang.

After compliments. We have to inform our friend that we left Penang on Friday, and arrived safely in Singapore, on Sunday, and we met the Honble the Governor of the three Settlements on Monday, and on the same day he directed us to go to Johore to the Maharajah, and we were sent in the same vessel, on the day of writing this letter. We are in Johore under the protection of the Maharajah, and by God's grace, we have sufficient to make us comfortable. Regarding our affair nothing has been settled that could be mentioned in this letter, but in our heart we wish very much if our friend will always be with us. We have nothing more to state. We send our best compliments to our friend."

I frequently met with opposition and misrepresentation in connection with what I did for what I considered would be for the good of the Settlement of Penang. A good deal of this proceeded from a spirit of opposition. I was therefore gratified at receiving, on one occasion, the following letter from an elderly, influential colonist, and member of the Municipal Commission, of which I was, ex-officio, the president.

It was dated, 31st March, 1876.

"DEAR SIR,

I have been at a loss whether I ought to call upon you or express in writing my regret at what occurred at the Municipal meeting, on Tuesday last. From what I heard on Thursday, I have thought it better and more respectful to adopt the latter plan, and I hope, therefore, you will be pleased to accept this note as the expression of my regret for my very silly and intemperate conduct on that occasion which I trust you will ascribe to its true cause, and not to any want of respect to you personally or to your Office. I may occasionally differ from you in opinion, but my powers of recollection will indeed be far gone, ere I forget all the good you have done for this Settlement, and all the forbearance you have shown to me, during the past seven years.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

S. H."

Early one morning, in January, information was brought to me, at Penang, that the Government steamer had just arrived with the dead body of Mr Loyd, the superintendent in charge of the Dinding island (about 90 miles south of Penang); and with his widow and Mrs Innes, the wife of a Government officer in the native state of Perak, as passengers on board.

It appeared that a gang of Chinese robbers had attacked the house of the superintendent, and murdered him; and had then attacked Mrs Loyd, who was ill in bed, and had run a spear into her eye; and had felled Mrs Innes with a Chinese axe in the next room, and then taken her into Mrs Loyd's room and thrown her under the bed, and there left her for dead; and set fire to the room. Fortunately some resident friendly Malays, the only inhabitants of the island, came and put out the fire. The Chinese nurse had run into the jungle, at the back of the house, with Mrs Loyd's baby.

By chance the Government steamer happened to pass just after this had taken place, and was able to bring away the body of Mr Loyd, and the two ladies. Mrs Innes came to stay at my house, and Mrs Loyd was taken in by a resident in the town. Mrs Innes was very unfortunate, for she had only just gone from Perak, where her husband held an appointment, to stay on a visit with the Loyds.

I received a letter from Sir Charles Cox of the Colonial Office, dated the 31st March, 1876, in which he said :

"I hope you individually are moving or moved into quieter times, for you have had a busy time, and much labor and responsibility thrown upon you, but it appears to me you have pulled through successfully. . . . Now we have Barbados on our hands."

On the 16th Feb., 1877, Sir William Jervois wrote to me :

"On the 13th I received a telegram from Lord Carnarvon (this was the first intimation I had on the subject, except what appeared in the newspapers, to which I paid no attention) telling me that the Australian Governments want me to go to the several Australian Colonies, to report, &c, on their defence, and asking me if I could manage to go. To this I replied in the affirmative, so I shall leave Singapore on 2nd April. . . . I think it would be desirable for you to come

down here some few days before I leave, so that we may talk over business matters together."

On the 3rd March Sir William wrote to me informing me of the withdrawal of the resignation of the Solicitor General, which resignation he had sent in in consequence of some action, relative to him, of the Judge of Penang. With reference to this the Solicitor General had written to me as follows :

"I have already much to be obliged to you for the consideration and kindness I have received from you for the past ten years, but your official minute respecting me, and the very kind letter you have written places my obligation beyond any thanks I can express. . . . I shall never forget*that throughout this matter you have acted as a kind friend to me."

On the 17th March, before leaving Penang, I received the following address :

" SIR,

Having heard that you are shortly leaving this Island for Singapore, to assume the reins of Government during the absence from this Colony of His Excellency the Governor, we gladly take this opportunity of addressing you, in order to prove our grateful appreciation of your many well meant and disinterested efforts for our welfare.

During your long stay here, extending as it does over a period of more than ten years, we have had ample opportunities of recognizing the careful and kindly manner in which you at all times have studied and protected the varied and sometimes conflicting interests of the different branches of the Native community of this Settlement. We have also duly noted and admired the strict impartialty and sound judgment which you have displayed in all your dealings with us, and we are well aware that we would have received many more benefits at your hands, had you been at the head of Government.

To you, as Ex Officio President of the Municipal Board of Penang, our thanks are also due. Under your able presidency many improvements have been effected, our streets, roads and bridges have been widened, new streets and roads have been laid out thus enhancing the value of property, and we have now a water supply, which will compare favourably with that of either of the other settlements. We might mention in detail many other instances but content ourselves with the above.

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While regretting your absence we cannot but feel that you will have a wider scope for the exercise of your talents, and that what is our loss will be the Colony's gain. We feel assured that, consistently with your duty, you will continue to protect our interests, and that you will ever lend, as you have hitherto done, a willing ear to anything we may lay before you.

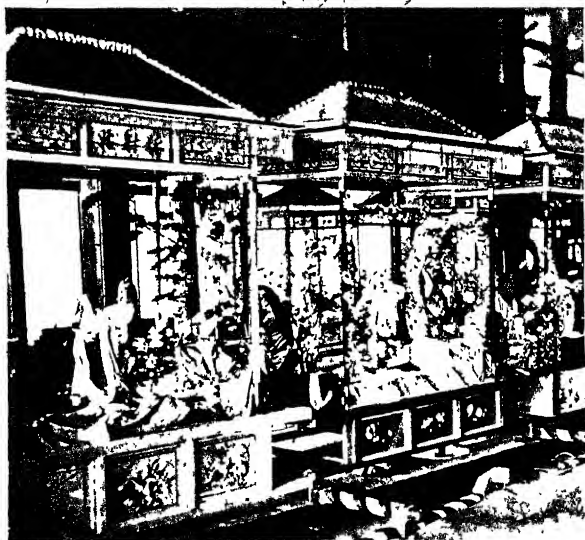
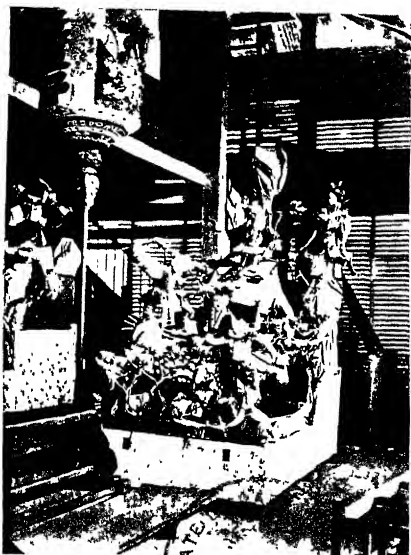
In conclusion permit us to wish you a pleasant voyage to Singapore, and to assure you of our continual good feeling towards you and your family and our sincere interest in all that concerns your and their welfare.

We have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servants."

(Here follow the signatures of 25 Malays, 42 Chinese, and 85 Indians.)



TRIENNIAL CHINESE PROCESSION, PENANG.

[Facing p 352.]

CHAPTER XVI

SINGAPORE AGAIN

(1877-1881)

ON the 3rd April, 1877, I took over the government of the Straits Settlements from Sir William Jervois. On arriving at the Government House, Singapore, I found Sir Henry Norman staying there on his way home from India, viâ Japan. He was, in 1883, appointed Governor of Jamaica. Sir William had sent his family to England, and had applied to the Colonial Office to be allowed to take his private secretary, Captain McCallum, R.E. (late Governor of Ceylon), with him to Australia. This had been refused, and he was much annoyed at the refusal, and said to me, "Look here, Anson, I have a great mind to follow my family to England." I said, "I don't know whether you care for the G. (he was a K.C.M.G.), because if you go, you will probably get it. Besides, the Government of South Australia is vacant, on account of Cairn's health, and it is not unlikely it might be offered to you, in order that you might remain in Australia to see your recommendations regarding the fortifications carried out. Besides, if you do not go, you will see Colonel A. B.'s name mentioned, as having done the work, and then you will feel sorry you had not done it yourself." He replied, "I believe you are right." I then suggested that he should take with him a captain of the R.E. who was employed at Penang, as civil engineer, under the Colonial Office, and this he did; and, as I had predicted, he was offered, and accepted, the Government of South Australia.

In a letter Sir William wrote to me from Government House, Melbourne, on the 4th July, he said:

"When I embarked on board the *Normanby*, on the 3rd April last, and you took up the administration of the Straits

Government, I had no more idea that I should become Governor of one of the Australian Colonies than that I should be appointed Emperor of the Chinese, but the sudden resignation of Cairns, and my presence in these parts, have resulted in my being deposited, for a few years, in South Australia . . . I have been hard at work here, and in the Colony of New South Wales (the only one I have yet reported on) they are adopting all my proposals."

Sir William wrote to me again on the 24th September, from the Government House, Melbourne, as follows :

"It seems to me that you have done the correct thing in placing the Maharajah of Johore in guardianship of the Kessang [Muar] territory pending the settlement of the late Sultan Ali's affairs. It would be a good thing if some arrangement could be made to absorb the said territory, either in the State of Johore or the Settlement of Malacca. . . . I am very glad you have at length got rid of Abdullah & Co. This power of deportation will have a wholesome effect in keeping Datu Muar and others quiet. I am sorry you have to go back to Penang, and had anticipated your wishes, by writing to the Colonial Office asking you should have a Government. . . . It is no doubt the case, as events have turned out, that you had a more correct estimate than I had, as to my future in these Colonies. When I left Singapore I had no more idea of remaining in Australia than I had of going to the moon . . . I start to-day towards 'Adelaide.' I am to visit some harbours and places 'en route,' and I shall be at my new Government on the 1st or 2nd October."

On arriving at Singapore, I had found Sultan Abdullah, the Laxamana (admiral), the Shabandar (the Port and Customs officer), and the Tuanku Muntri, of Larut, in gaol—these four of the principal chiefs of the native state of Perak being under sentence of transportation to Seychelles, on account of their complicity in the affairs of Perak, at the time of the murder of Mr Birch. I visited them in the gaol, the day before they were sent away. It was Abdullah in whom Sir Andrew had placed so much faith, and had made Sultan in place of Ismail, and whose true character had afterwards again displayed itself. He offered me his hand on leaving, but this I declined. The others I felt sympathy for, as I had had a good deal to do with them, and I believed that, had they been properly handled, they would have been amenable

to the requirements of the British Government. In my dealings with them, I had always found them willing to meet my wishes in a friendly manner, and I shook hands with them when leaving.

Malays cannot be dealt with hurriedly, they must have time to consider what is required of them. One must obtain their confidence, and then they will agree to any reasonable request one makes to them. Sir Andrew Clarke seemed to think that in his short interview with Abdullah at Pankor, on the 20th Jan. 1874, he had sounded his character better than I had in my seven years previous knowledge of him. Of course, on the occasion of the engagement at Pankor, when the chiefs were all on board the Government steamer, with a man-of-war close by, they appeared to agree to everything that was proposed to them. It was not likely, however, that Ismail, who was not present, would be willing to be superseded and relegated to the position of ex-Sultan, especially in so off-hand a manner.

A Mr Tooth professed to have invented some chemical that would preserve the juice of the sugar cane for some days. He had established some works in Manila, and other countries, and had obtained the promise of a grant of land at the Dindings, on the Perak shore, where he proposed to erect a sugar manufactory. His intention was to carry a large pipe a long distance up the country, with branches from it, on both sides, to lands cultivated by Chinese, who were to send their cane juice down these pipes to his manufactory at the Dindings, at a spot where there were three fathoms of water alongside the shore.

It had been agreed that he was to have 1800 acres at the Dindings, and two acres for every acre he cultivated, up to 90,000 acres, in Perak. He came to me, at Singapore, to apply for the grant for the land. When authorizing it, I was careful to enter a condition that, should he not have commenced his operations within a limited time, the land should revert to Government. It was fortunate that this provision was made, and the limitation of time a short one, as nothing, except the planting of some canes, which were never cut, at the Dindings was ever done on the land, which, in consequence, was soon again at the disposal of Government.

Mr Low (afterwards Sir Hugh Low, G.C.M.G.) came from Labuan to Singapore, and I took him in the Government steamer to Perak, of which native state he had been appointed Resident.

Early in June, 1877, I visited Penang, and went, in H.M.S. *Avon*, Captain Powlett, to visit the Sultan of Kedah. We anchored off the mouth of the Kedah river, and the Sultan sent two of his state pirogues to meet us. The one in which I was taken up the river, to the house prepared for me, was very long, with a high prow, highly decorated, and was paddled by about thirty men in uniform. This pirogue was followed by the other, which was not so long or so highly ornamented, and this was followed by one of the *Avon's* boats. The Sultan put up me, and my staff, and Captain Powlett, very comfortably, and kept a very good table for us.

The following day we went up a river for some distance, in several small pirogues; then were supplied with elephants, on which we rode to the foot of the Elephant Mountain, a small mountain which stands quite isolated in a plain, and has a cave within it, which occupies the great part of its interior. We walked a short distance up the mountain, and then entered the cave through an opening. The cave swarmed with bats, and the floor was black and slippery, with the dirt from them (tāi kalāwa, used as guano by the natives), which was some inches thick.

Poor Captain Powlett met with a misfortune on the way to Kedah. His servant laid the dinner things on the deck of the gunboat, then went below for something, and, coming up again, accidentally walked into the middle of the crockery and glass, causing considerable destruction.

On the 20th June, the Sultan of Muar, a small native state, situated between the British settlement of Malacca and the native state of Johore, died. There was an arrangement, by virtue of a treaty, that, should the Sultan of Muar determine to alienate his state, it should, in the first instance, be offered to the British Government, and in the event of the offer being declined, it should be offered to the Sultan of Johore.

Now, Lord Granville, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a dispatch dated the 10th Sept., 1869, had

informed the then Governor of the Straits Settlements, as follows: "I should not be disposed to approve of any proceedings which would extend the responsibilities of Her Majesty's Government in the neighbourhood of the Straits Settlements." To have placed this native state under the charge of the Government of the Straits Settlements, until the Home Government should have decided in regard to it, would have necessitated my appointing, temporarily, a regular establishment of officials for carrying on its government, and this, independently of the expense, would have had the appearance of annexation. But the Sultan of Johore, whose territory adjoined this state, could, with very little trouble to his head men, administer the Government of the state in accordance with Malay customs. I therefore asked the Sultan to undertake the charge of this state, until the decision of the British Government should be made known, and to this he, who was under considerable obligations to the British Government, acceded.

This act on my part met with some opposition in Singapore; and, in a local newspaper, I was nicknamed Jezebel and the Sultan of Johore, Ahab. At the same time the matter became the subject of a long correspondence with the Home Government, and gave rise to a good deal of trouble and some fighting, locally. However, the action I had taken was approved by Lord Carnarvon, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, however, who almost immediately succeeded Lord Carnarvon, expressed his disapproval of it, but caused no alteration to be made. I received the following letter from the Sultan of Johore in reference to it.

"62, Queen's Gate, South Kensington,
August 2nd, 1878.

MY DEAR COLONEL ANSON,

Your kind letter of June 3rd has just arrived, and has given me the greatest pleasure. Please accept my sincerest thanks for your hearty congratulations upon the issue of the Muar election, and for the friendly expressions you have made respecting the subject. This arrangement has added a new responsibility on my shoulders, but I heartily trust that I shall be able to bear it, as a task undertaken for the sake of humanity, and the good of my country. . . I intend, if possible, to visit Paris, Vienna, and perhaps Italy. . . . The Prince Henry of Lichtenstein has kindly honored me with an invita-

tion to visit Vienna, and I shall certainly try to go there if I can. . . . I am highly delighted with my visit to this friendly people. Her Majesty the Queen has honored me with an audience, and I have had the honor of meeting the Prince and Princess of Wales, and attending a state ball at Buckingham Palace. I have visited the Colonial and India Offices, and had the pleasure of meeting the Secretary of State for each department."

I also received a letter from the Sultan, dated—

"Istana, Johore, 19th May, 1879.

"MY DEAR COLONEL ANSON,

I thank both Mrs Anson and yourself most sincerely for your kind congratulations on the further great honour it has pleased Her Majesty to confer upon me. I can assure you the intelligence quite surprised me and I can only hope that my life may long be spared to enable me to wear such a distinction, and to further prove myself worthy of the confidence that has been placed in me by the British Government.

Your individual expressions give me more pleasure than any I have received, for you will remember that my friendship has been questioned in high quarters, and therefore these expressions of opinion from a true friend afford me infinite pleasure. H.E. the Governor I am glad to say has of late quite altered his tone towards me, in fact is quite a different man."

In August, at the invitation of the Sultan of Johore, I went to Segamat, about 125 miles up the Muar river, to meet the chiefs of some of the native states of the Negri Sembilan, or Nine States, some of whom were those who had been opposed to us in the Sungei Ujong war. The Sultan accompanied me on board the Government steamer. On entering the Muar river the vessel went aground, having only about 6 feet of water on one side, and 12 feet on the other. The lascars immediately stuck long poles, upright, into the bottom of the river, and then swarmed head first down them, and brought up oysters, with which we soon filled many empty coal bags. These oysters are not like the English ones, but are not so salt, and resemble broken-up macadam.

While waiting for the tide to float the steamer off, I, with my aide-de-camp and two officers of the 74th, who had been invited to accompany me, went off in a steam launch to look for alligators. We shot one about 6 feet in length and badly



THE SULTAN OF JOHORE.

[Facing p. 358.

wounded an immense one, which, however, got away. We did not get afloat and under way for six hours, until 3 p.m., and anchored for the night at 7 p.m. We started the next morning at 6 o'clock, and arrived at a place named Bukit Kopong, about 60 miles up the river, at 4.30, and landed there and were entertained at a magnificent dinner in the jungle, by the Sultan. The steamer could ascend no further up the river, so we started at 8.15 in a large barge that the Sultan had had for the Duke of Edinburgh, when he visited him. That was poled all night by two natives, and we slept on the bottom of it, side by side, athwart it. In the early morning the barge could go no further, and we had to take to small pirogues, in which only one person could go, lying flat on the bottom, under an awning. Each pirogue was then drawn, by about a dozen men, through sand and water, for some miles until we reached Segamat, where we found the chiefs awaiting us. The Sultan accommodated us in a good native house, in which we were handsomely entertained. After dinner there were native dances, etc., for our amusement. We left at 8.30 p.m., and returned in the same manner as we had come.

I returned to Penang, on being relieved by Sir William Robinson, the newly appointed Governor, on the 29th October.

On laying the foundation stone of the Town Hall of Penang shortly before leaving the Settlement for Singapore in 1879, to again take over the administration of the Government of the whole colony of the Straits Settlements, I received the following address, dated 1st January.

“SIR,

The inhabitants of this Settlement, in this address, announce that the object of their meeting this day is to witness the laying of the Foundation Stone of a Town Hall, and at the same time to express their great satisfaction that, at last, the great want, so long felt in the town, will be satisfied, when the building, the starting point of which is represented by the stone now before us, is completed.

The inhabitants, and ratepayers, would through their Municipal Board, tender you their thanks for coming forward on this occasion to perform the ceremony, and combining as you do, Sir, in your official capacities, the representation of Government here, with the presidency of the Municipality,

would express their thanks to you for the assistance you have in the twofold capacities aforesaid rendered, with the object of bringing to a successful issue, the matter which the community here have been, for so long a period, desiring to see carried out.

You are now, Sir, about to leave Penang to undertake the administration of the Government in Singapore during the absence of His Excellency the Governor, the Community of the Island therefore beg leave to express their satisfaction and pleasure, that the progress in the undertaking, has permitted the performance of the present ceremony before you take your departure for Singapore.

This address concludes with an expression of the hopes of the Community, that this building, the Foundation stone of which is now to be inaugurated, will aid the prosperity of the Settlement hereafter, by raising the dignity of the Town, placing it, in respect of its Town Hall, on an equality with Settlements of not greater commercial importance and possibly of a shorter history, but which happily have already possessed such an institution, also that the building will afford means for social and intellectual improvement, as well as the public requirements of the inhabitants of Prince of Wales' Island [original name of the Settlement].

Availing of this public opportunity, we would wish you a hearty farewell on the eve of you leaving this Settlement, feeling sure that the interests of this Island will, as occasion offers, receive your earnest attention at the Chief seat of the Government of the Straits Settlements, hoping also that when the public opening of the Building, of which the foundation stone is now about to be placed in position by Your Hands, takes place, the Ceremony may be inaugurated under Your presiding auspices."

To this was attached the municipal seal.

With this address I was presented with an enormous silver trowel, of great solidity, with an appropriate inscription, made by a Chinese jeweller in Penang.

Besides this Town Hall, I had made arrangements for building a so-called Town Hall for the special use of the Chinese community, adjoining the Chinese temple.

About this time, I was sitting in my office when a gentleman was ushered in who introduced himself by presenting his card, representing him to be Count le Fez. He made himself very agreeable, and stated that he had been on the staff of the

French General Galifet, in Spain. He was travelling with a companion whom I did not meet at that time. He became very intimate with the major of the detachment of the regiment at Penang, and was a welcome guest at the officers' mess. He stood godfather to the child of one of the Colonial Government officers, and I entertained him at my house. On one occasion he rather puzzled me by a remark he made about my father, which did not correspond with the date of my father's services; but I concluded he had mistaken some other of my relations for my father, which, as he died in 1847, was not unlikely. After spending a few months at Penang, visiting some of the native states in the meantime, he suddenly made his departure, leaving certain unfulfilled obligations behind. It then transpired that he and his friend had come out, on behalf of the Westminster Aquarium, to obtain a hairy family that had been heard of in one of the native states. This family, however, declined to leave home.

After his departure his companion came to me, and asked for a passport to go to Achin. As the war was going on, I told him that he must inform me with what object he desired to go there. He then confided to me that he wanted to go there to look for a pair of what are known as "Siamese twins." Some years afterwards I saw announced in a London newspaper that le Fez had shot himself at the Aquarium. He was a very clever impostor, and was capable of making himself agreeable, and his manner was gentlemanly. One of the officers of the police at Penang, who had spent some time in France, said he recognized him as the Huissier of a court in France.

Early in 1879, I received intimation that General Grant, the ex-President of the United States of America, would shortly visit the colony. I therefore sent to the American Consul, and invited him to come and see me at Government House; and when he came, I asked him what General Grant's position was, as I wished to know how to receive him. He said he is not this, nor that, nor the other, mentioning different appointments; but he is a very great man. Not being able to obtain any definite information from the Consul, I telegraphed to the Chief Commissioner at Burmah, where the General had just arrived; and asked how he had been received there. The reply came: "With a military guard of

honour and a salute." On this I telegraphed to the Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Penang to receive the General with those honours. However, while the General was at Penang, the English mail passed there, and arriving at Singapore, brought me a dispatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, instructing me that in accordance, I understood, with the wishes of the American Government, these honours were not to be accorded to the General. I accordingly gave orders that he should be received on landing, with a guard of the armed police force, and by the principal officers of the Government. This led to his secretary, on landing, remarking to one of the colonial officials, "What, no soldiers here?"

On the night of his arrival, I entertained the General, Mrs Grant, and his suite at dinner, and held a reception afterwards; and then gave a ball. I was told that the General objected to making speeches, so at the end of dinner, after proposing the healths of the Queen and the President of the United States, I rose from the table. I was informed afterwards, that the General was much disappointed, as he had prepared a speech for the occasion. I found him a very agreeable and interesting guest. He had visited every crowned head in Europe, and been to India, Burmah, etc., and when chatting in the verandah of an evening, after dinner, I found him very entertaining. I one day said to Mrs Grant, "When you go back to the White House, I suppose you will do so and so." She replied, "Oh yes," and then emphatically remarked, "If he heard me he would knock my head off." Another time, when she had been telling me about all the beautiful things she had bought in Paris, I said, "Why don't you send them to Mrs. Hayes [the President's wife], and ask her to take care of them for you at the White House." She said, "Oh yes, Mrs Hayes is a friend of mine, and would do it for me, but——," and then she made use of the same expression, with the same action, as on the former occasion. There is no doubt she looked to her husband being elected President for the third time. I asked him what he thought of his chance of being so, and he said, "Were the elections going to take place this year, I think I should have a fair chance, but as they do not, I cannot be sure of the stability of public sentiment."



GENERAL ULYSSES GRANT.

[Facing p. 362.]

The General was very proud of having commanded a million men in the Civil War of America.

Mrs Grant, in talking of her husband before he became President, used to say, "That was before Ulys was a great man." She told me that while the General was President she had, with him, visited the Mormon City, and interviewed the chief wife of Brigham Young, who, after upholding their marriage system for some time, burst into tears and exclaimed, "It is hell on earth!"

Mrs Grant, in speaking of my aide-de-camp, said, "He's a sweet lad," and he was, for some time afterwards, known by that name in his regiment.

There was, at Singapore, a dear old Chinaman named Whampoa, a general favourite. He was a member of the Legislative Council, and a C.M.G. He had a charming country house and garden. His drawing-rooms were fitted up in Chinese style, with a circle of carved and gilded wood separating one room from the other. His garden, as I mentioned before, was laid out like the willow-pattern plates, with the summer-house and bridge over the water, which abounded in gold fish, which used to be fed by the visitors. Wishing to entertain General Grant, he invited him to lunch, and me to accompany him. There was a large party, one of which was an American, the only countryman Whampoa could find available at the moment. He was a dentist of a rather inferior social position. As we were driving home together, after the party, General Grant turned to me and said, "Why did Whampoa ask that tooth carpenter to meet me?"

The General went to Batavia, and paid a visit to the Dutch Governor-General, at Buitenzorg; and then to Bangkok to visit the King of Siam. He then returned to Singapore and left for China. Before leaving he wrote to me as follows.

"Steamer *Bangkok*. Singapore, April 22nd, 1879.

Col Anson, Administrator Straits Settlements.

MY DEAR COLONEL,

I have just returned this p.m. to Singapore from a very pleasant visit to Bangkok, expecting to find the U.S. steamer *Richmond* here to take myself and party away. She not being here however, and not likely to arrive before the end of the month, I have determined to take the French

steamer, now in port, and which leaves at seven o'clock in the morning. This will prevent me calling in person to pay my respects to you and Mrs Anson, and thanking you again for your kind hospitalities while we were guests at your house. On the part of Mrs Grant and myself, and all those with me, we renew our invitation to yourself and family to make our houses your home if you should ever visit the United States.

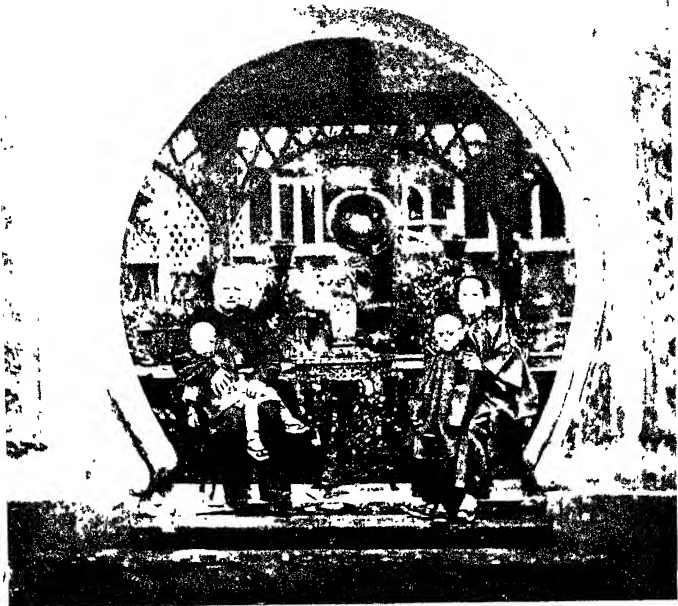
Very Truly Yours

U. S. GRANT."

The Harbour-Master came to me one day, and informed me that he had received a report from the lighthouse keeper, at Horsburgh Lighthouse, near Singapore, that the lighthouse was loose, and that he had guyed it up with all the ropes he had got. I directed him to go and examine into the matter; and on his return, he reported that it was true that the lighthouse was roped up, a very curious sight, and that the lighthouse keeper was suffering from delirium tremens.

On the 4th October, I took on board the Government steamer some of the leading Chinese of Singapore, and, accompanied by the Sultan of Johore in his steamer, and H.M.S. *Kestrel*, Captain Edwardes, I went a short way up the Linggi river to a place named Sempang, not far from the boundary of the Settlement of Malacca, which I wished to bring under the notice of the Chinese as a possible suitable place to establish a port. I had sent on word to the head man of the Malays in the neighbourhood to prepare a place where I might entertain his people, to the number of about two hundred. I stopped at the town at Malacca, on my way, and purchased the following articles: 200 lbs. of rice, 150 lbs. vegetables, 8 lbs. curry stuff, 3 lbs. onions, 2½ lbs. garlic, 8 lbs. tamarinds, 7 lbs. salt, 16 lbs. ghee, 14 lbs. white sugar, 40 lbs. salt fish, 16 lbs. cocoa-nut oil, 4 bunches bananas, 15 packets of tea, a water-buffalo, 15 teapots, 200 cups, 200 plates, 100 Chinese spoons, 2 rice sieves, 2 grinding stones, etc.

When I reached my destination I found not only the natives I had invited, but that the neighbouring chief had brought down about two hundred additional guests; so that I had to make my provisions for two hundred suffice for four hundred. However, all seemed satisfied. The buffalo was cut up into small pieces and made into curry.



DRAWING-ROOM IN WHAMPOA'S HOUSE IN SINGAPORE.

[Facing p. 364.]

I landed and went among the company, and conversed with some of the principal men, and they expressed themselves pleased with the entertainment, which was a sort of picnic to the local Malays and the party who accompanied me, at my expense.

In 1879 I visited the chandoo manufactory of the Opium Farm at Johore, where the opium was converted into chandoo for the purpose of smoking it. This was done by cooking it with molasses and water. There I saw a row of iron boilers built into masonry, with fires beneath them. As the opium was being cooked, a thin film rose to the top, like a thin brown pancake, and this was lifted off to undergo some other process.

At that time a chest of opium cost 500 dollars (about £100), and the Penang opium farmer informed me that each chest contained 40 balls, which, converted into chandoo, would be sold for about 1800 dollars (about £360). The consumption at Penang, at that time, was estimated at from 25 to 27 chests per month, and at Singapore from 45 to 50 chests.

The custom at Singapore, in connection with letting the Opium Farm, had been to call for tenders for the joint farms of Singapore and Johore, and for these tenders to be opened in the Governor's private office; and for him there to decide which tender to accept; and also what share should be that for the Singapore farm, and what for that of the Sultan of Johore. This seemed to me a very unsatisfactory arrangement, and I determined not to join the two farms when calling for tenders for the Singapore farm; and to let the Sultan of Johore make his own arrangements for his own farm. I was warned, by high authority, that doing this would lead to a great deal of smuggling, and great loss to the revenue of the Settlement. However, my arrangement was carried out. The result was an increase in the Singapore revenue of over 550,000 dollars per annum, and the Sultan of Johore also obtained an increase to his revenue.

I may mention that I had received information from a Chinese merchant, well disposed towards me, that the farmers had been receiving too considerable a share of the profits from the farms, in proportion to the amount the Government had received.

Instead of opening the tenders for the farms in my private office, I opened them in public, at the Council table, in the Legislative Council Chamber, in the presence of the members of my Executive Council, and of the tenderers; and I read out each tender as I opened it. This gave great satisfaction, as the tenderers saw that there was no favouritism, and that each tenderer had his tender fairly considered.

Sir William Robinson wrote to me from England, on the 6th Sept. 1879, as follows :

“That is a grand increase to the revenue you have got from the farms. They would hardly believe it at the Colonial Office, but I told them it was probably true, and they immediately began to consider how much they would make the colony pay of the cost of the Perak War !”

The Legislative Council of the Colony of the Straits Settlements had passed the following resolution on the 8th June :

“That His Excellency the Governor be good enough to request the Secretary of State for the Colonies to reconsider the conclusion arrived at by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, in his dispatch of 29th December last, regarding the expenses connected with the Perak War, and to urge that an equitable adjustment of the payment of these expenses should be made on the lines indicated by Lord Carnarvon in his dispatches of 4th February and 31st October, 1876, as well as in his several Departmental letters dated from 9th December, 1875.”

To this in paragraph 6 of his dispatch of the 28th Sept. 1880, Lord Kimberley replied :

“The only conclusive ground upon which assistance could be asked by the Colony from Imperial funds, would be the inability of the Colonial Government to meet the expense; but that point had been set at rest by the large accession of funds anticipated from the improved rents for the opium and other farms for the three years commencing on the 1st January last, which would enable the Colony without difficulty, to pay off the sum of \$555,000, mentioned in Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's dispatch of 29th December, in three equal annual instalments, and still leave a large margin available for other local objects.”

In my address to the Legislative Council at its meeting on 24th July, 1879, in reference to this question, I had said :

“ We may take some pride in feeling that we are capable of contributing so largely towards our own interests and protection, as well as, I may say, towards those of the British Empire in general, and that, doing so, adds to the independence and dignity of this dependency of the Imperial Crown.”

I had always thought the rates of the salaries of the Government officials were very inconveniently arranged for the Treasury accounts, and also that they provided no regular scale by way of promotion. I therefore drafted a scheme for the whole of the three settlements, and sent it to Sir William Robinson, in London. In a letter he wrote to me on the subject, he said, “ I have warmly supported your scheme for improving the position of the clerks.” It was afterwards approved by the Secretary of State, and adopted.

One morning, the captain of a Japanese man-of-war called upon me, and asked whether he might fire a salute in the Singapore harbour. I questioned him as to the object of the salute, and he informed me it was for his Emperor. I asked if it was the Emperor's birthday, and he said it was for an Emperor who died over two thousand five hundred years ago. I said there was no objection to his firing the salute. He then asked me if I would order a salute to be fired. I replied that we did not salute our deceased sovereigns; but that he was quite welcome to fire his salute. He then left me, quite satisfied. However, shortly after he had left, Captain Denison, who was in command of H.M.S. *Encounter*, called upon me, and I mentioned the subject of the salute. He said, “ If he salutes in the harbour, I will return it.” So, after all, the old Japanese Emperor got a British salute.

About the same time, I received a visit from two Japanese judges, who had come to Singapore to study our prison system. I handed them over to the Superintendent of Prisons, to show them over the prisons, and to give them all the information they required. On coming to take leave of me, afterwards, they said they knew the officials of the British Government were not allowed to receive presents, but the custom of their country was to give them; so they gave me a very small

tea-caddy, which they said was of no value, but it was a specimen of their best lacquer.

In this year also came the Duke of Genoa, brother of the Queen of Italy. He was an admiral, and on board his flagship the *Vittor Pisani*. He had been educated at Harrow. I gave a ball for him and the officers of his ship. He danced with my daughter, and, during the dance, they slipped and fell down together. His officers came round him and exclaimed, "Oh, mon Prince; mon Prince!" but had not a word for his partner. He was, however, very polite, and assisted her to rise. We were invited to lunch on board his ship. There were some very nice officers on board; one whose mother was English. There was also an Italian general on board. I was amused during the luncheon by one of his stewards, who had been a waiter at a Bristol hotel, coming up behind me, and whispering information about matters connected with the ship.

The crew were put through their exercises for me. There was on each side of the stern, on the main deck of the ship, the full-sized figure of a black man, very much resembling the figures that were formerly seen outside tobacco and snuff shops.

The Consul-General at Siam married a Siamese lady and sent one of his daughters to England to be educated. When she returned, she realized that her mother and sister were uneducated natives, and, feeling there was no chance of her marrying a European, she married a Siamese of the Royal Family. This prince, having married without permission from the Sovereign, and having been guilty of some offence in connection with gold mines of which he had charge, was beheaded. The Consul-General resented this treatment of his son-in-law, and sent to Singapore for the assistance of a man-of-war. The captain of the gunboat came to me about the matter, and I advised him to be very careful what he did. At the same time the King of Siam wrote to me to the effect that what the Consul-General was doing was, "equal to a declaration of war." This I telegraphed home. The Consul-General was, shortly after, pensioned. He had previous to this done very good work for the British Government in Siam.

Madam Pri Cha, as his daughter was called, came to Singapore, bringing with her a considerable amount of

jewellery and the infant child of her husband by another wife, with which she used to drive about on the esplanade at Singapore in the evenings.

One morning while dressing, I was seized with a sudden and violent attack of sickness and other symptoms, which, in spite of all the doctor could do, did not stop until the evening. The following afternoon, Sunday, I strolled down through the grounds of the Government House, towards the main road, to meet my wife coming back from church. On the way I was seized with sudden collapse, and had to sit down on the side of the road with my feet in the gutter; and in this state I was found when my wife came to me in the carriage, into which I was helped and taken home. After this I suffered constantly from nervous prostration. When I purposed visiting the Settlement of Malacca, on duty, a short time after, the doctor said that no doubt as soon as I got to sea I should feel better.

About eleven o'clock the morning after I arrived at Malacca, I received a telegram from Larut, in the native state of Perak, about 200 miles to the north of Malacca, to report that there was a riot among the Chinese; that the Sikh police had shot about sixty Chinamen, and that it was considered very important that I should go there. I immediately ordered steam to be got up in the Government steamer, and, in about an hour and a half, I was on board, and under way for Larut.

The *Encounter* had left in the morning, for the north, and I succeeded in overtaking her off the Cape Richardo Lighthouse, not far from Malacca, and made a rendezvous with Denison, off the Larut river, for the following morning. It was very rough weather, and I had a bad cold and was feeling very far from well, from the effects of my late trouble. When I arrived off Larut early the following morning, and was met by the British Resident, he said it was exceedingly desirable that I should go up to Taiping, where the disturbance was. This was ten miles over a corduroy road through the jungle, and the only conveyance was a rickety Chinaman's gharry. I told him I really felt too ill and exhausted to undertake the journey. However, he was so urgent, and considered it of so great importance that I should go, that I consented to do so.

I then went on shore, accompanied by three of the man-of-war's boats, equipped with guns and rocket tubes, and with a force of bluejackets in them. This force was left for the night at Larut, and, what the mosquitoes had left of them, re-embarked the following morning.

I proceeded to Taiping, and had all the head-men of the contending parties brought before me, and harangued them for some hours, and settled matters. I then dined, and retired for the night and was up at 5 o'clock the next morning, drove back over the rough road to Larut, and got on board my steamer, to be informed by the captain, that he had not coals enough to take the vessel back to Malacca, and that we must go to Penang, 50 miles further north, to get coal, thus increasing the voyage back by 100 miles. All the good my visit to Malacca was to have done was thus completely neutralized, and I returned to Singapore worse than when I had left.

The medical officer then recommended me to take riding exercise. When the Sultan of Johore heard this, he very kindly offered to lend me a Chinese pony he had bought, intending to send it as a present to the Prince of Wales. It was not properly trained, and very heavy in hand, and soon after I started to ride it, it stuck its toe into the ground, going down a grass slope, and made a very bad stumble, which threw me forward on the saddle; and before I recovered myself, it stumbled badly again, and shot me clear over its head. I had had enough of it, and went home terribly shaken, being very weak from my illness, and the next day I was bruised and stiff all over.

I never quite recovered from this illness for about three years, in fact, until I had been some time in England, after having retired from the Colonial Service.

In a diagnosis of my case, the Chief Medical Officer of the colony wrote as follows: "Previous to his illness, General Anson had very heavy mental work, and I have come to the conclusion, after long reflection, that the real cause of his indisposition was cerebral anæmia."

In a dispatch from Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated the 8th Nov. 1879, in connection with an application I had made to him, the following appears, "I

am, however, willing to make a special concession in Colonel Anson's case, as he has administered the Government in circumstances of somewhat more than usual difficulty."

I left Singapore on the 6th May, 1880, relieved by Sir Frederick Weld, and returned to Penang.

When it was ascertained that I was intending to go home on leave I received the following address from the inhabitants of Penang.

"SIR,

We the undersigned inhabitants of Penang have heard with regret of your intended departure for Europe preparatory to your retirement from the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Penang which you have for nearly fourteen years occupied with honor to yourself and benefit to the Settlement.

During the said period our town has become nearly doubled in extent owing to the many improvements effected under your auspices such as the opening of new roads, the improving and widening of existing ones, the introduction of a permanent and systematic scheme of water-works, the lighting of the town, and the increase of police stations in the Town and its suburbs.

To you we are also indebted for the erection of many useful public buildings, such as the Town Hall which ornaments our Esplanade, and the General Prison which is second to none in any of Her Majesty's Colonies.

We have to thank you also for your attention to the educational wants of this Settlement, which has necessitated three several extensions from time to time of the Penang Free School buildings. The establishment of vernacular Schools all over the country whereby the benefits of education are brought within the reach of the humblest and poorest inhabitants is also due to you.

We desire further to express our appreciation of the skill and care with which you have directed the financial interests, not only of this Settlement, but of the whole colony while acting as Administrator whereby a permanent revenue has been secured, which will bear comparison with that of any other portions of Her Majesty's dominions of equal population and extent.

This increase has not been attained by the imposition of any burdensome taxes but is entirely due to the increase in material prosperity and wealth of the Inhabitants of this Island of all classes and grades.

We have not failed to observe and appreciate the urbanity

and courtesy shown to the public on all occasions, both official and private, and to admire the impartial and dispassionate manner in which you have discharged your duties to all classes and nationalities.

We cannot refrain from expressing our hope that you may find it possible again to return to Penang, but should you decide to seek that retirement from public affairs, the right to which you have so justly earned, you may rest assured that you will be remembered as a just and impartial ruler, a courteous official, and a generous and hospitable friend.

In conclusion we wish you and your family a pleasant voyage, long life, health and happiness."

Signed by 57 Europeans and Eurasians, including 5 Chrétien Frères, about 194 Chinese, 33 Malays, and over 135 Indians, Mussulmans and Hindus.

I also received the following, dated 27th Jan., 1881, from the late Sir Cecil Clementi-Smith, who was Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements, when I was Administrator of the Government in 1879.

"I won't bore you with a letter at the last moment, so I write a few lines now instead of by the mail which will take you on to Europe.

If when you are at home you want any information from this part of the world pray let me know. I trust that you will really enjoy the relaxation you have so thoroughly earned, and a little idleness ought not to be irksome even to so hard-working a man as yourself. You have at any rate our very best wishes for a prosperous voyage and for good health to reap all the advantages of your furlough."

CHAPTER XVII

RETIREMENT

(1881-1920)

ON the 2nd Feb. 1881, I left Penang, on leave, on board the P. and O. steamer *Ravenna*, Captain Stewart.

Miss Johnstone, the sister of the Bishop of Calcutta, her niece, Miss Emma Johnstone, and Sir Nevil and Lady Chamberlain joined the ship at Galle. The weather was very rough in the Red Sea, and Lady Chamberlain was thrown out of her berth, and broke one of her ribs.

We arrived at Malta on the 27th, and found there General Sir Arthur Borton (the Governor) and Lady Borton, Sir Victor Houlton (Chief Secretary) and Lady Houlton, Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, Captains Seymour and Colomb, R.N., Sir Arthur Cunningham, Colonel Murray, Commanding R.E., and Colonel Dumaesq, Commanding R.A. I called on the Governor, and he invited me and my family to a fancy dress ball at the palace, the following day, and excused me from appearing in fancy dress, as I had no time to obtain one, and was only a passenger.

The gunboat *Decoy* was in the harbour, in command of my cousin Lieut Charles Anson, now an admiral. Coming over from Tunis the vessel had met with very bad weather, and the Captain (Von Donop) and his dog had both been washed overboard, and the seas had broken over the vessel and gone down into the men's quarters between decks. My cousin had received much credit for bringing the vessel safe into port.

We left Malta on 26th March, on board the Valery Company's steamer *Mahommed Es Sadok*. We touched at Syracuse, Catania, and Messina, where we embarked Mr E. Hood, a brother of Lord Bridport, from Lord Nelson's estate

of Bronté. Mr Hood informed us they had lately been attacked by brigands.

We landed at Genoa, and proceeded by rail to Mentone, where we spent a week with my cousin Frederick Anson, Canon of Windsor, and his family. He was the father of Lieut Anson of the *Decoy*. We met there Bishop Courtenay (late Bishop of Jamaica), the Bishop of Gibraltar, and Mr Cyrus Field. The two Bishops were called "Gib and Jam."

My sister, Mrs Thornton, and her husband, the Rev William Thornton, of Kingsthorpe Hall, Northampton, with their family, were also at Cannes. At their house I met Archbishop Tait, and was pleased to renew my acquaintance with him.

After our arrival in England, we paid visits to my nephew Sir William Anson, at Elm Hill, Hawkhurst; my sister, Mrs Du Cane, at Eastbourne; the Campbells, at Eye Rectory, Suffolk; the Patersons, at Brome Rectory, Suffolk; the William Farrers, at the Rectory of Belchamp St Paul, Essex; Canon Anson (my cousin), at Windsor Castle; Sir Robert Hamilton, near Stratford-on-Avon; my cousins at Okeover, in Derbyshire; Sir Villiers and Lady Surtees, at Silkmore House, Stafford; the Farrers, at Ingleborough, Clapham, Yorks; the Primroses, at 22, Moray Place, Edinburgh; the Mercer Hendersons, Fordell, Inverkeithy, Fifeshire; Archdeacon Anson (my brother), at Birch Rectory, Manchester; the Arthur Ansons, Nicholas Street, Chester; the Gordons, Doddlestone Rectory, near Wrexham; the Anchitel Ansons, at Longford Rectory, Derbyshire; Lady Waterpark, Mapleton, Ashbourne, Derbyshire; the Hillyards, at Oakford Rectory, Bampton, Devon; Major Hillyard, of the Rifle Brigade, at Baring Crescent, Exeter, etc. We spent the winter at Bournemouth.

My younger son, who was in the 83rd Regiment (which had arrived just too late for the affair at Majuba Hill), wrote from the camp at Drakensberg, Natal, on the 23rd May, 1881, about the war, as follows:

"The feeling amongst the troops here is very strong for the poor fellows who were murdered through the ambition and incompetence of our Colley—a politician but a theoretical and paper General. The men here, as also every one, freely

discuss, and rightly, fairly, and roundly, abuse our late Governor and Commander-in-Chief . . . it does seem hard that the man should now be made a hero of at home, and all those who fell in the gallant execution of their duty, be well nigh forgotten. . . . Colley, with a small force, never over 600, took upon himself to attack, not once but three times, an enemy's position (where no slope was less than one of 15 degrees with a perfectly open front of at least a quarter of a mile) of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, well knowing every man of the enemy had a horse picketed some 50 yards in his rear, so that when they found the attack on their formidable line was only on one place they were able to concentrate all their forces (some seven thousand men) against our few; and yet after three several repulses ending with his own death, we out here, seeing daily the poor sufferers who did their best, and passing daily the cemetery wherein lie those who died to please him and further his career . . . suddenly hear that the author of all this is looked upon as a martyr. This man, who, on Majuba, when his men were being shot right and left, at one o'clock in the day was lying down asleep in a hollow, and had to be awoken by an officer of the 92nd, who, himself wounded in two places, was endeavouring to persuade the Governor to get up the reserves.

After the battle of Laing's Nek, and just before the 58th were ordered out to take part in the affair of Ingogo, the greatest discontent was rife, and in no measured terms, after the retreat of the force at Schoms Hoogte, did the men vow they would never follow such a man into action again. This was said openly, as the men were retiring."

The following are extracts from a joint letter, from Sir Frederick Weld, to my wife and myself, after my arrival in England, and after I had retired from the Colonial Service.

"You have left many friends behind you here [Singapore], I myself shall ever be mindful of much kindness, and pleasant visits to Suffolk [my house at Penang]. . . . Pray be sure that if ever I showed a kindness to the General it is a pleasure to me to think that you took it as such, and that I would gladly have shown more if I could, but all the obligation lies the other way. I shall not forget his great kindness to us on our arrival, or his honest work for the Colony, and your hospitable and friendly welcome at Suffolk."

I also received, from the Colonial Office, the following: "Lord Kimberley desires me to convey to you his high

sense of the value rendered by you during your employment in Mauritius and the Straits Settlements under this office."

Having retired, and believing that it was out of the question that I could expect any further Colonial appointment, I was greatly surprised to receive the following communication from Lord Kimberley, dated the 22nd July :

"DEAR GENERAL ANSON,

I wish to propose to you to undertake the temporary Government of Newfoundland. I take this opportunity of saying that it will give me much pleasure to submit your name for the K.C.M.G. on your retirement from the Straits' service."

Upon receipt of this letter, I called on Lord Kimberley, and he pressed me three times to accept his offer, saying each time, "I wish you to take it." However, he gave me a week to consider the matter. Had the offer been made to me a month earlier, I should have accepted it without hesitation, but I had purchased a property, and having concerned myself with other matters from which I could not conveniently withdraw, I, at the end of the week, wrote to Lord Kimberley, and declined the appointment.

I had visited Sir Frederick Carter, the Chief Justice of Newfoundland, who told me he had been in Newfoundland for forty years, and was in London, and he gave me a very favourable and agreeable account of the colony.

My neighbour Sir James Colquhoun, of Luss, called on me one afternoon, and brought with him Mr Walter Severn. After going round, and admiring my garden, Mr Severn paid me the following compliment. Addressing Sir James, he said, "I am an artist in water colours, but Sir Archibald is an artist in nature." He asked me to let him have a photograph of a birch tree in my garden, and when I sent it to him, he copied it in the foreground of a picture he painted of Loch Lomond.

I had a gardener who had young twin sons, one of whom fell out of the window of a loft, and broke his leg. When I inquired from his father how the boy was, he remarked, "It would have been a pity to have spoilt the pair," meaning had he been killed.

This reminds me of a story of two men in my neighbourhood meeting, when one asked the other how his family were

and was told that he had lost some of his children. The other, returning the compliment, and inquiring after the family of his friend, was informed by him that *he* had had no church-yard relief.

In 1882, I received the following letter from Prince Prisdang, brother of the King of Siam.

" 8 Glendower Place,
South Kensington,
London, 24th Jan., 1882.

SIR,

By command of His Majesty the King of Siam, I have the honor to forward for the acceptance of Mrs Anson and yourself, souvenirs of the Cremation of Her Majesty the late Queen.

I regret there has been some delay in the transmission of these articles from Siam, caused by the case in which they were contained having miscarried."

The Queen had been accidentally drowned in the Meinam river, near Bangkok, the capital of Siam, and in accordance with Siamese custom her remains had been cremated a year after her death. The souvenir consisted of a small stand of Siamese metal work, and two small black cotton bags, each containing little globular wooden balls with coloured stripes round them, and flattened at one part, where they were hollowed out to contain a small white metal coin, about the size and appearance of a threepenny piece. There were twenty-five of these balls in each bag (one bag for me and one for my wife), representing the years of the Queen's age.

These coins were specimens of the new coinage of Siam, and had the King's head on one side, and the Royal arms of Siam on the reverse. The former coins were bars of silver, of thickness in accordance with the value of the piece, doubled round like one's thumb and forefinger brought-together at their points, and with the Crown of Siam stamped on them. These eight coins weighed respectively about 2 oz., 1 oz., $\frac{1}{2}$ oz., $\frac{1}{4}$ oz., $\frac{1}{8}$ oz., $\frac{1}{16}$ oz., $\frac{1}{32}$ oz., and $\frac{1}{64}$ oz.

The wooden balls had been scattered among the crowd on the occasion of the cremation.

In 1883 I received a letter from Mr Foo Tye Sin, a Chinese British subject of Penang, of which the following are extracts :

"MY DEAR SIR,

I am much gratified to be in possession of your much esteemed letter of the 17th Sept. 83—the more so to learn that you are in sound state of health. Self and friends have to thank you most gratefully for your assistance in inaugurating the scheme for building the Chinese Town Hall, which has been completed, and it is one of the best buildings in the town—more so being in the background of St George's Church, which certainly vastly improves the aspect of that building. . . . The plans laid out by you in Campbell, Kimberley, and other streets adjacent thereto, have improved property in that neighbourhood. . . . The 'Big Show' in Calcutta has attracted many of my friends here, and in Singapore to go there—so I am just preparing to leave via Singapore. Trusting these hurried lines will find self and Mrs Anson and family in good health as the same leaves me and family here,

I remain Yrs very truly,
FOO TYE SIN."

He wrote in December, 1883 :

"I have returned from Singapore, and have abandoned the idea of visiting the great India show at Calcutta. The Opium line of steamers direct to Calcutta cannot accommodate visitors from China and Coast Ports, and consequently many have to avail themselves of the route via Burmah. . . . Enclosed you will find self and wife's cart [photograph] which I hope you will accept with our kind remembrance. I also enclose some views of the Triennial Chinese procession—which came off last September. It cost us nearly 25,000 dollars [about £5000]. Singapore immediately followed us, and their exhibition is just as good."

In September, 1884, he informed me in a letter that the Dutch in Achin had again blockaded all ports. From eight or nine steamers, they had increased their strength to twenty-four war vessels from the port of Edie northwards.

Foo Tye Sin was the Chinese gentleman who gave the handsome contribution to the convent at Penang. He kindly and satisfactorily settled all my affairs, after I left Penang.

In October, 1884, I was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Sussex, and in November, 1889, elected a County Councillor for East Sussex. In 1897, my property having been brought within the municipal boundary of Hastings, I was, by a

provision in the Act of Parliament creating the extension of that boundary, removed from the office of Councillor. I was then elected a Councillor of the borough of Hastings, but I found that, at my advanced age, I could not stand the late hours, and the long drive home at night which my attendance at the Town Hall necessitated, so at the end of the year did not seek a continuance of the office.

Previous to this I had, for five years, been Chairman of the Rural Sanitary Authority of Hastings and St. Leonards. On my resignation of the Chairmanship, in 1904, I received a letter from the Clerk, of which the following is an extract:

"I am directed by the Rural Sanitary Authority of this Union to express to you their sense of the valuable services which you have rendered to the Authority during the years you have filled the office of Chairman, and to convey to you their regret that your services will be lost to the Authority."

In 1889 I received a letter from a general officer, who had been a subaltern in a battery with me in 1852, in which he wrote: "I was fortunate, on joining the service, always to be under good and smart officers. You taught me a lot of things, and I have always felt that I owe to you, amongst others, having done fairly well in my subsequent career."

In 1891, I lost my wife. It is not for me to speak of her character; but she obtained the love of my relations and the esteem and respect of all those with whom she became associated, both at home and in the colonies in which we resided. In proof of the last, I need only quote the following letter:—

"Penang, 25th October, 1882.

MY DEAR LADY ANSON,

I have much pleasure in enclosing a bank draft in your favour for £318. 18. 5. the equivalent of 1665 dollars, subscribed by your friends in Penang, at the time of your departure, with the object of presenting you with a testimonial of their regard.

The subscription would have been larger had not a report been circulated very soon after you left that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had forbidden the presenting of the testimonial. This at once stopped all further subscriptions, and the collection of the sums already subscribed, and it was

not until the news of Sir A. Anson's retirement from the Colonial Service was received that any further steps could be taken. Hence the amount is not so large as your friends had confidently anticipated it would have been, for since your departure, many who have, or who would have subscribed, have left the place, so that the fund has suffered in consequence. Such as it is, however, I send it on behalf of your Penang friends with their request that you will kindly accept it as a slight expression of their regard and goodwill, and that you will, with it, purchase some souvenir of the place whose social life you, for nearly fifteen years so successfully promoted, and of whose society you were the chief ornament. We were all very much pleased to hear that Sir Archibald had got his K.C.M.G., and hope that you both will be long spared to enjoy, in England, the leisure and honours so well earned after your long stay in the Colonies."

I was informed that, had it not been for the false report (alluded to in the above letter) which appeared in the local paper, a similar testimonial would have been presented by the inhabitants of Singapore.

In 1897 I went to stay with Sir James Colquhoun at Ross-dhu, on Loch Lomond. While there, he took me to a large afternoon party at the other side of the lake, where I met a lady from Hereford. In course of conversation I asked her if she knew my old friend Captain Telfer, who had been a cadet with me, at Woolwich, and quartered in the room next to me in the barracks there, when I joined the regiment, in 1844. She said, "Oh yes! Captain Telfer Smollett, he is living at Cameron House, on Loch Lomond." I insisted that I meant Captain Telfer, and not Captain Telfer Smollett, and we argued this question of names for some time. At last, it was explained that my friend Telfer had inherited the property of his uncle, Mr Patrick Smollett, of Cameron House, with whom I had lunched the year before, but who had since died at a very advanced age. Telfer was great-grand-nephew of Tobias Smollett, the historian and novelist.

After that I went to see Telfer Smollett, when he said to me, "Do you remember when I was quartered at Chester, and you introduced me to your uncle the Dean there; and when we went into the Cathedral, the verger led the way, carrying a mace, then came the Dean, and then you followed with

your umbrella at the 'present arms'?" I said I did not recollect that. He then said, "I have a bookcase of yours." I asked him what he meant. He replied, "Don't you remember, when you were leaving Woolwich, you asked me to take care of a bookcase for you?" "No, I don't," I said. "Well," he said, "I have got it, and I am going to keep it."

In 1906 I married again.

In 1909, on account of age, I retired from the Chairmanship of the Bench of the Hastings Division of Sussex, and on that occasion received a letter forwarding a very complimentary resolution passed by my brother magistrates.

16th April, 1910. This was my eighty-fourth birthday, and among other presents I received was Dean Ramsay's *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*. I knew Dean Ramsay very well when I was in Scotland, and his book reminds me that, when dining at a gentlemen's party, at Mr Innes's in Inverleith Row, Edinburgh, I was often amused by those present, who were all Scotsmen who spoke with a very broad Scotch accent, saying, when about to tell some anecdote, "As they say in Scotland," and then trying to tell it in still broader Scotch, which seemed to me quite unnecessary. I went to call on Dean Ramsay one day with two young ladies, and was surprised at his very plain speaking on subjects not usually discussed with young ladies.

The Dean's politeness was the unfortunate cause of his wife's death, for, in offering a chair to a lady, he accidentally removed it just as his wife was about to sit down on it, and in consequence she fell and injured her spine.

16th April, 1916. On this day, my ninetieth birthday, I was presented by seventy-six nephews, nieces, great-nephews, great-nieces, great-great-nephews, and great-great-nieces, with a garden bench made of teak from an old man-of-war, and a knitted grey Shetland wrap 2½ yards square.

I now, 1920, in my ninety-fourth year, commit the foregoing to the hands of a publisher, in the hope that some of the descriptions of home, military, and colonial life may not be found uninteresting.

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